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ADIBASI

INSTRUCTION TO AUTHORS

Adibasi is a quarterly periodical published by the Tribal and Harijan Research-*cum*-Training Institute, Bhubaneswar, Orissa every year in April, July, October and January. It contains papers and findings on Social Sciences emphasising tribal problems of Orissa.

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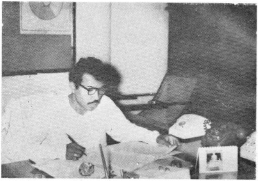

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ECONOMIC LIFE AND FOOD GAP IN TAMERA—A BHUINYA VILLAGE IN KEONJHAR DISTRICT

N. PATNAIK

Setting

Tamera is a small Bhuinya village situated in Banspal block at a distance of about 20 miles from Keonjhargarh, Orissa. The nearest central place is Kanjipani through which the newly built Calcutta-Bombay National Highway No. 6 has passed. Kanjipani is a bus stop and provides some functions of lower order such as branch post office, small medical store, weekly market, tea shop, etc., to the villages lying in its hinter land. A katcha road of 4 kms. long meandering through two high hills and densely wooded country connects Kanjipani with Tamera village.

At the time of the study of the village in 1975 there were 39 families of which 29 families belonged to the Bhuinyas, four to the Juangs, five to the Gaudas and one to a Pana (a scheduled caste) which are scattered within a radius of one kilometer. All the households lie to the north of a hill stream which runs very close to the village from west to east.

The lands immediately around the village which are called Badi are used for growing thatching grass, maize and mustard, and the hill in which the Bhuinyas of the village carry on Taila cultivation (shifting cultivation) lie in the east and west of the village. Many jack fruit and mango trees are present in and around the village.

The Bhuinyas were the first to come and settle down in the village. Then came the Juang families followed by Milkmen and Pana. The families of different castes and tribes live separately from one another in their respective wards.

As the study was confined to the Bhuinya families exclusively the demographic features and other aspects of this community are discussed in detail below.

Demographic features

The distribution of the Bhuinya population by age and sex groups is given in the Table 1.

Table 1

(Distribution of Bhuinya population by age & sex)

Age-group (1)	Male (2)	Female (3)	Total (4)
Up to 10 years (Children).	32	37	69
Above 10 and below 20 years (Adolescents).	17	12	29
Above 20 years (Adults).	22	25	47
Total ..	71	74	145

It is seen in the table that the population of the adolescents is much less than that of the children at one end and that of the adults at the other end of the age grades. A detailed demographic analysis of the Bhuinya will throw more light on the bulges of the population at both ends and shrinkage of population in the middle.

The break up of the family types is given in the Table 2'.

Table 2

(Types of Bhuinya families)

Type (1)	Number (2)
1. Nuclear ..	..
(*a*) Parents and unmarried children.	19
(*b*) One of the parents and unmarried Children.	8
2. Intermediate (Parents with married children).	2
Total ..	29

Each nuclear family has a house of its own. If a man has in his family his mother, grown up unmarried sisters and daughters, he builds a separate house for them close to his own and his grown up unmarried sons and brothers sleep in the village mandaghar.

The size distribution of the Bhuinya families is given in Table 3.

Table 3

(Size of Bhuinya families)

No. of families (1)	No. of members (2)
5	Upto 3
20	4—6
4	7—9

No significant point is marked in the family size which is same as that of the non-tribal communities living in the neighbourhood. In fact, the Bhuinya population is on the increase, it was 156,878 in the 1961 census and it increased to 188,212 in 1971 Census.

Settlement Pattern and Social Structure

The village is composed of mainly five clusters of houses each inhabited by a group of families belonging to a clan called Khila. Clan is an exogamous division of the tribe. The five Khailas are (1) Mantri of one family, (2) Parihal of one family, (3) Pradhan of five families, (4) Dehuri of seven families and (5) Saningi of 15 families,. The Mantri Khila is signified as M. Parihal as R. Pradhan, as P. Dehuri as D, and Saningi Khila as S in the map which is provided in the paper. Formerly the Dehuri and Mantri Khilas were one and the same. That is why inter-marriage between them is forbidden. Like wise all other Khilas are also exogamous. The family belonging to the Parihal Khila has recently migrated from Lata a nearby village.

The study reveals that the Saningi, Dehuri and Pradhan Khilas are the original settlers of the village and all others followed them in succession in the last two decades. The map presents the location of houses of different families in the village. The household of Mantri Khila is located in the south and that of Parihal Khila in the extreme north of the village. Of the 5 families of Pradhan Khila one lives with the Mantri Khila and the other with Saningi Khila. There are 7 households belonging to the Dehuri Khila and their main cluster lies close to the village in the east. Three Dehuri families live away from their main cluster—one in the south of the village with a few Saningi families and two in the main cluster of the Saningi Khila. As the Saningis are numerically preponderant their cluster which is situated in the north of the village is the largest. Two Dehuri, one Pradhan and the Parihal families also live in the cluster of the Saningi Khila. Apart from its main cluster the Saningi Khila has two sub-clusters—one in the south having four families and the other in the far east of the village having three families.

Each of the Khilas is split up into a number of lineages and the families belonging to a lineage tend to cluster in some cases and scatter in other cases. Mantri family (House No. M1), Parihal family (House No. R 17), one Pradhan family (House No. P5) and two Saningi families (House Nos'. S24 and S29) have no lineage of their own in the village. The remaining four Pradhan families (House Nos. P2, P3, P4 and P6) belong to one lineage group and live scattered in the village. All the seven Dehuri families (House Nos. D7, D8, D18, D19, D20, D21, and D26 are of one lineage group. Except for the three families (House Nos. D7, D8 and D26) the remaining four families (House Nos. D18, D19, D20 and D21) are clustered together in a single place.

In regard to the Saningi Khila two families (House Nos. S24 and S29) have no lineage of their own in the village. The remaining 13 families belong to three different lineage groups. The composition of each lineage group is as follows : (1) four adjacent families of house Nos. S11, S12, S13 and S16, (2) two adjacent families of house Nos. S14 and S15, (3) four families of house Nos. S9 and S10 situated together in their main cluster and house Nos. S22 and S23 living together in the far east of the village and (4) three adjacent families of house Nos. S25, S27 and S28 living in the extreme south of the village. Of the two Saningi families (House Nos. S24 and S29) who have no lineage of their own in the village, one family, (House No. S24) lives close to a cluster of two families, (House Nos. S22 and S23) of his Khila in the east and the other family (House No. S29) close to a cluster of three families, (House Nos. S25, S27 and S28) of the same Khila in the south. It appears from the map that the general pattern of settlement is that members of different Khilas live in separate clusters with a few exceptions of inter Khila intermingling of families.

House Type

Each household has a single roomed house of its own. Cow sheds and goat pens are built adjacent to the houses. A Bhuinya house is rectangular in ground plan. The walls are made of logs of wood plastured with mud and the roof is thatched with grass once in 10 years. The varendah is made of beaten earth and coloured black. The black colour is obtained from the bark of Arjun tree. The wall also is coloured carefully by using coloured earth available locally. The lower portion of the wall is coloured crimson and the upper portion white.

Generally each house is provided with a door in front and it serves as both entrance and exit. The Bhuinyas do not use windows in their houses. But some progressive ones among them use window as a decoration to their houses.

Mandaghar

Conspicuous in the village is the bachelors' dormitory which is called Mandaghar in the Bhuinyapirh. The Mandagarh is the largest hut in the village. It has walls on three sides and is open in front. The side walls and wooden posts are carved with decorative symbols depicting animals.

The other distinguishing features of Mandaghar is its roof which is thatched with grass in a special way. Fire is always kept alight in the centre of the room and the unmarried youngmen sleep there at night encircling the fire place. Visitors to the village are also accommodated in the Mandaghar. The unmarried boys maintain the Mandaghar in good repair and in this they are helped by unmarried girls. Boys keep hanging on deer horn fixed in the walls their changu, a flat tambourine like drum of medium size. In front of the Mandaghar is a small open space where boys end girls dance together at night.

The elders of the village spend a large part of their time in the dormitory in the open space in front either gossping or mending baskets.

The village council meets at Mandaghar and matters of common interest such as division of land for shifting cultivation and performance of religious activities are all discussed here by the village elders.

The Mandaghar is important not only socially and politically but also economically and ritually. In one of the corners of the Mandaghar a small room with a raised wooden platform is built to store seeds of cereals, pulses, minor millets which are grown in Swiddens. As soon as the sowing season approaches the Bhuinyas appoint an auspicious day and consecrate the seeds at Mandaghar by worshiping the village goddess. In general the Bhuinya village grows up with the Mandaghar as its central focal point in ll respects.

Shrines of village Deities

Other common places of importance are the shrines of village gods and goddesses. The shrine of the village goddess called Gramshri is situated at one end of the village. The Bhuinya worship the deity collectively once in the month of February and once in August. Badamu is another goddess as important as Gramshri and is also worshipped in common by all the Bhuinya families.

There is another shrine near the hill stream which flows in the south of the village. It is the abode of another important **deity** called Thakurani. In the month of January all the Bhuinya families of the village contribute each Rs. 6·00, half a kg. of paddy and one kg. of rice for a feast at the shrine and one and all of the village irrespective of caste and tribe take part in it. The idea behind these ritual activities is to maintain peace and amity in the village and keep the deities contented and satisfied so that they ward off evil spirits and calamities from the village.

Economic life

1. *Taila land* —The habitat of the Bhuinyapirh is mountainous, thickly wooded and rugged. There is very little plain land in the Bhuinya country. It is for this reason that the Bhuinyas resort to shifting cultivation on the hill-slopes which is their primary source of livelihood. The Bhuinya's call it Kaman or Taila cultivation. In a village meeting which is held in the month of February the villagers decide which hill-slope they would take up for Taila cultivation in the current year. On an appointed day all people of the village to go to the site chosen for cultivation for distribution of land among themselves. Each family gets as much land as it can cultivate. Families having more members get more land than those having less numbers. If there is a small family, it is given land in the middle of the hill-slope where it will be better protected. , if there are several men available in the family for guarding the crop it is given in a more exposed position or in the outer friges of the selected hill-slope. The village officials such as the Pradhan (village secular headman) Dehuri (religious headman) and ward member of the statutory gram .panchayat do not enjoy any special privilege in regard to allotment of land. The extent of land allotted to a family for shifting cultivation is determined by the size of the family and the labour force which it can deploy for cultivation

Each family cultivates every year at least two strips of land located in two different hills. One of them is called Rasi Kaman (Niger cultivation) or first year Taila and the other Dhana Kaman (paddy cultivation) or second year Taila. It means that a particular strip of land is cultivated for two years ; first year for growing niger, blackgram and horsegram an second year for paddy, jally, ragi and kulthi. After two years it is left fallow for a period of 10 to 12 years to recuperate and another strip which has sufficiently recuperated is teken up for shifting cultivation. The cycle of rotation two decades ago was only five to six years. But it has now increased to 10 to 12 years on account of slow regeneration of vegetational cover in the hill-slopes.

In the month of May the Bhuinyas start the jungle-clearing. They cut down the trees and creepers and after a lapse of a few days set fire to the dried matter. Just before the rain comes or during the rains they sow seeds of niger, blackgram and horsegram mixed together in the first year Taila land then plough the field with the help of a hoe. Some people also use country plough in areas of gentle slope. They harvest niger and other crops grown with it in the month of January. In the second year they sow seeds of paddy jalli, ragi and kulthi mixed together in the same plot after clearing and firing the brushwood and undergrowth in the same manner as before. They sow the seeds in July and plough the field with the help of a hoe or a plough during the rains. Weeding is essential for good growth of the plants. The crops are reaped in succession from the month of December.

The depredation caused by the wild elephants, deer and bears is immense and the primitive weapons of the Bhuinyas and their indigenous techniques of scaring away these wild animals are not very effective in protecting the crops. The milkmen of the village let loose their cattle which also destroy the crops grown by the Bhuinyas. Their complaint against the milkmen to the police and administrative authorities goes unheeded.

2. *Badi land* —The land around the village is called Badi land and is more fertile than the swiddens in the hill-slope. The Bhuinyas own these lands on individual basis and manure them by applying cowdung. They plough them under with the help of country plough and grow maize, mustard, bean and cucumber in these lands. In some places papaya, banana and castor plants are also grown along the ridges of these lands.

3. *Bila land* —The land in the valley and on either side of the hill stream is called Bila land. Only five families own three scres of such land and they grow paddy in this land. The lands of this type get sufficient water throughout the year and are most fertile. Therefore the farmers do not use any manure in such lands.

4. *Grass land*— The villagers have set apart a large strip of land in which they grow that ching grass. The grass land is held by the village in common and the grass grown there is shared equally among them. If any one needs more than his share he has to purchase it from others having surplus.

5. *Cremation ground* —The villagers have earmarked a piece of land as cremation ground which is held in common. It is here that the dead bodies irrespective of community are cremated.

6. *Forest land*—The villagers hold that the hill-slopes which face towards their village are in their possession and it is on this side of the hills that their swiddens lie. The opposite sides of the hills belong to the villages towards which they face, and it is on these sides of the hills the people of those villages carry on shifting cultivation. But no such demarcation is observed in the case of collection of forest produce and grazing. A Bhuinya is free to collect forest produce any where in the Bhuinyapirh. Similarly he can graze his cattle wherever suitable pasturage is available. Normally the Bhuinyas do not go outside their village boundaries for these purposes.

Some years back hunting was a substantial source of food supply and it was practised either individually or communally. But the practice of hunting is almost given up and is confined only to one or two ritual occasions. One of the reasons for gradual abandonment of hunting is that the forests have been cut considerably and the wild animals have diminished in number.

A word about the rights of the Bhuinyas over the forests may be mentioned here. The Bhuinyas regard the forest as their own and the clearings on the hill-slopes as their private property. But according to the forest rules the Bhuinyas have actually no right to the forests at all and the practice of shifting cultivation is declared illegal. However, the Bhuinyas enjoy certain concessions in regard to collection of forest produce. The Bhuinyas are permitted to collect forest products only for own consumption and not for sale. In regard to grazing the concessions are that grazing may be allowed in the reserved forests for all kinds of cattle, except sheep and goats subject to payment of grazing fee.

The Bhuinyas have less cattle and more sheep and goats and as there is insufficient pasturage in the open forests they use the reserved areas for this purpose in contravention of the forest rules. The entire area under Khesra forest is almost out-cropped and therefore unsuitable for shifting cultivation. But according to the concessions the Bhuinyas are allowed to carry on shifting cultivations in Khesra forests. Therefore the indiscriminate felling and burning of the trees in the hill-slopes which are under reserved forest for the purpose of shifting cultivation is done out of sheer necessity. The details of the rules for management and preservation of forests which were in vogue in the ex-Keonjhar State and the rights and concessions as applicable to the Keonjhar Division at present are furnished in Annexures I and II respectively. A close look to these forest rules and concessions reveal many other areas of conflict between the forest economy of the Bhuinyas and the rules regarding preservation and conservation of forests.

Land Revenue and system of free labour

During the feudal regime the villagers in the Bhuinyapirh used to pay revenue to the erstwhile ruling chief of Keonjhar State. The collection of revenue in the Bhuinyapirh was made not on village basis as was in vogue in the neighbouring Juangpirh but on individual basis. The names of the ryots and the extent of land they cultivated were recorded in a revenue register called *Aekapadia* which was maintained by the village Pradhan since 1931-32. This demand register also contained the amount of revenue which was to be paid by each ryots to the ruling chief of the State. The village Pradhan was responsible for collecting the land revenue and depositing it in the treasury of the ruling chief.

The total revenue collected from Tamera village was 19 rupees, 9 annas and 2 paisa. Since 1973 the people of this village have stopped paying any revenue to the Government. The land survey and settlement was going on during the field work in the village and when the settlement would be finalised and revenue fixed per holding the ryots would pay revenue for their holdings according to the fixed rates.

During the feudal regime the Bhuinyas all over the Bhuinyapirh were subjected to forced labour (*Bethi* of various types such as *Ratha Bethi, Inda Bethi, Dashara Bethi* and *Palia system*) by which labour is supplied to visitors to the Bhuinya villages free of charges. The *Rath Bethi* which is now abolished included supply of ropes used for drawing cars during car festival at Keonjhargarh. They used to provide a very big sal tree to the king on the occasion of *Inda* festival and during Dashara they had to supply a ram for sacrificial purpose.

Except the *Palia* system which is still in vogue in the Bhuinyapirh all other types of Bethi system have already been done away with since Independence. The *Palia* system is to provide by turn certain services to the visitors to the Bhuinya villages. Whenever there is a visitor in a Bhuinya village the villagers serve him in rotation at the rate of three persons daily. One of them provides firewood and the other supplies water and the third one cooks his meals. They also provide food to the porters who carried the visitor's belongings. It is only the Bhuinya porters who are entitled to such free food from the villagers. The Bhuinyas provide porters to the visitor for carrying his luggage from village to village.

Land System

Low-lying paddy fields in the plain are scarce in the whole of Bhuinyapirh in general and in areas from Kanjipani to Banspal in particular. Therefore the people have to remain satisfied with lands in the hill-slopes where mixed crops are grown by axe-cultivation. Considering the quantum of labour available in the study village the extent of land available for shifting cultivation within the village boundary is not insufficient. Inadequate labour supply and primitive agricultural tools are serious constraints for bringing the available land surface under shifting cultivation. These difficulties are responsible for acute shortage of food in the Bhuinyapirh in general and in Tamera village in particular.

The lands under shifting cultivation belong in common to the whole village. A srtip of swidden remains in possession of a person as long as he carried on shifting cultivation there. When the land lies fallow it reverts to the village. The grass land also belongs to the community. The low-lying paddy fields and other types of land in the plain such as Badi and homestead lands are individually held. The fruit trees such as Jackfruit and mango trees belong individually to those who have planted them. At the time of partition the trees are not partitioned among the co-sharers. The trees are held in common among them while the fruits are equally divided among co-partners every year. On the whole private ownership of property is largely in vogue among the Bhuiynas. In other wards, the system of revenue collection from the Bhuinya ryots on the basis of rent register had weakened the traditional communal ownership of property among them.

Business of Living

1. *Produce from land*—Of the 29 Bhuinya families inhabiting Tamera village, 27 families cultivated the first year Taila (Rasi Kaman) and all families cultivated the second year Taila (Dhana Kaman) in the year under review. Each family had two strips of land, one strip of *Rasi Kaman* and the other for *Dhana Kaman*. Each strip of land on an average measures 1·5 acres in extent. Thus the area under first year Taila cultivation was roughly 40 acres and that under second year Taila cultivation 45 acres. Except three families others have Badi land each of half an acre in extent. Thus there are roughly 13 acres of Badi land which are under cultivation.

Only five families have Bila land to the extent of three acres in the valley bottom. On account of financial difficulties and preoccupations in Taila cultivation, they were not able to grow any crop in their Bila lands. The Table 4 gives the produce from the Taila and Badi lands.

Table 4

(*Produce from Taila and Badi lands*)

Type of land	Crops grown	Extent of land under cultivation (in acre)	Amount produced in Kg.	Rate of conversion to money	Money value	Converted to rice at the rate of Rs. 1·50 per 1 Kg of rice
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
				Rs.		
1. 1st year Taila (Rasi Kaman)	Rasi (Niger) ..	40	1,290	3·00	3,870	2 580
2. 2nd year Taila (Dhana Kaman)	Dhana(Paddy)	45	2.786	0·75	2,090	1,394
3. Badi ..	(1) Mustard	13	333	4·40	1,465	976
	(2) Maize		153	2·00	306	202
				Total	..	5 152

Calculated at the rate of 3 Kgs. of rice being consumed daily per family 5,152 Kgs. of rice will be sufficient for about two months.

2. *Produce of Tree crops*—The Bhuinyas are famous for plantation of Jackfruit trees. Of the 29 families, 26 families have jackfruit trees either individually or in share with others. There are about 72 jackfruit trees which bore in the year under review about 721 fruits. The Bhuinyas are not in the habit of selling jackfruits. Whatever they get they consume and they say that the jackfruits provide food for one month.

There are also many mango trees in the Bhuinya country which have grown mostly of their own accord. The mango crop provides food to the Bhuinyas of the study village only for a month and the mango Kernel which they eat by mixing with roots and tubers and green leaves lasts for two months. During mango season the Bhuinyas eat nothing but mangoes. Similarly, when the jackfruits available they eat only jackfruits and nothing else. These two fruits including mango Kernel and seeds of jackfruits provide food to the Bhuinyas of the study village at least for four months.

3. *Roots and tubers and green leaves*—It is difficult to ascertain how much roots and tubers and green leaves are collected annually by the Bhuinyas from the forests. The dietatic study in three families revealed that two families used roots and tubers mixed with other types of food stuff for three days in a week and the quantity used daily varied from half a Kg. to three Kgs. Calculated on this basis the total collection of roots and tubers would not exceed 6,000 Kgs. in a year. Since the roots and tubers are not marketable commodities it is difficult to convert them to money value. The Bhuinyas subsist on the roots and tubers exclusively when the cereals, millets and pulses are scarce. In the case of the study village the roots and tubers collected from the forests provide food for a month and a half.

4. *Wage*—The Bhuinyas of Tamera earn some wage by working on the National Highway No. 6 and in the horticultural farm at Kanra and in the paddy fields of milkmen of their village. The rate of wage per day and per head for road work is Rs. 2·00 for male and Rs. 1·75 for female. The rate of daily wage for farm labour is Rs. 1·50 per head for male and Rs. 1·25 for female. The total income from these sources is roughly Rs. 1,043·00. It is only during the off season that they take up road work or farm labour to supplement their income from their own sources. For road work and farm labour they are paid in cash while for agricultural labour in the lands of the milkmen they are paid in paddy at the rate of one pai (approximately one Kg.) for six hours of labour. It is the practice with the Buhinyas that they spend most of the wage on food. They buy rice out of the cash wage from the local weekly markets. Calculated at the rate of Rs. 1·50 per Kg. of rice the quantity of rice that can be obtained out of the wage income of Rs. 1,043·00 is of the order of 695 Kgs. which is sufficient only for a period of eight days for all the 29 Bhuinya families.

5. *Loan*—All the Bhuinya families are in debt, and the sources from which they get loan are Kothighar (graingola), Tribal Development Co-operative Society and local money and grain lenders. A short note on each of these sources is given below.

1. *Kothighar*—A branch of the main Kothighar at Gonasika operates at Kanra and the Bhuinyas of Tamera borrow paddy from this branch Kothighar.

2. *Tribal Development Co-operative Society (TDCS)*—There is one TDCS working at Kanjipani. Its main function is to buy the agricultural and forest produce from the local tribals at fair price and provide interest free loan in cash and kind except for loan in the form of seeds for which 10 per cent interest is charged. The objective of the TDCS is to check the business of the itinerant businessmen who cheat the tribals in weights and measures and also in payment of the cost of the produce which they buy from the Bhuinyas.

3. *Local money and paddy lenders*—(*a*) *Gopal Khuntia of Tamera*—Gopal Khuntia is a milkman by caste. He migrated to Tamera 15 years back, held some land from the Bhuinyas and started agriculture along with animal husbandry which is his caste occupation.

a very short period of time he became a rich and progressive farmer. He soon started business in paddy lending in Tamera as well as the neighbouring villages. The rate of interest which he charges is 50 per cent.

(*b*) *Hara Pradhan, Bhikari Saningi, Dania Parihal and Chhabi Dehuri of Tamera*—Certain Bhuinyas of Tamera have improved their economic condition by virtue of hard work and have been able to carry on business by lending their surplus agricultural produce to the poorer families of their village. The important ones among them are Hara Pradhan (House No. 4), Bhikari Saningi (house No. 10), Dania Parihal (House No. 17) and Chhabi Dehuri (House No. 20). Their terms and conditions pertaining to loan are more or less the same as those of Gopal Khuntia and they charge interest at the same rate of 50 per cent as he does.

(*c*) *Kuchia Sahu of Rangadihi*—Kuchia Sahu of oilman caste carries on business in grocery and is a good cultivator. Paddy lending in his side business. He advanced loan in paddy to some, Bhuinya families of Tamera at 50 per cent rate of interest.

(*d*) *Punia Pahana of Irida and Kolha Padhan of Tangarpada*—Some Bhuinyas of neighbouring villages have taken up the business in paddy lending with their tribesmen of Tamera. For example, Punia Padhan of Irida and Kolha Padhan of Tangarpada belong to this category of paddy lenders. Like others they also charge interest at the rate of 50 per cent. The Table 5 gives an account of loan advanced by different category of creditors to the Bhuinyas of Tamera.

Table No. 5

Account of loan advanced by different catagories of creditors to the Bhuinyas of Tamera

Sl. No.	Categories of creditors	Name and address	Amount of loan advanced in					Rate of interest charged	No. of debtors to whom loan advanced	Total amount of loan of all kinds (in Rs.)
			Cash (Rs.)	Rice	Mustard	Paddy	Rabi			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
	A. Institutional									
1	Official sources ..	Tribal Development Co-operative Society, Kothighar.	740	45 kg.	2 kg.	..	13 kg.	Nil	18	
2	Non-official sources ..	..	..	..	..	6 kh 160 pai	..	50% for seeds 25% for food.	20	
	B. Private									
3	(1) Non-tribal of own village.	Gopal Khuntia of Tamera (milkman).	..	8 pai	..	10 kh 287 pai	..	Varies from 25% to 50%	25	
4	(2) Own tribe of own village.	Hara Pradhan, H. N. 4 Bhikari Saningi, H. N. 10 Daina Parihal, H. N. 17 Chhabi Dehuri, H. N. 20	.. ..	4 kg. 2 kh, 26 pai	..	10 pai	..	50%	9	
5	(3) Non-tribal of outside village.	Kuchia Sahu of Rangadihi.	..	..	..	10 pai	..	50%	1	
6	(4) Own tribal of outside village.	Kolha Padhan of Tangarpada and Punia Pahana of Irida.	..	8 pai	..	6 pai	..	50%	2	
		Total	740	49 kg. 2 kh 42 pai or	2 kg.	16 kh 473 pai	13 kg.			
			740	131 kg.	2 kg.	793 kg.	13 kg.			

The sources of credit are broadly divided into two categories :(1) Institutional and (2) Private. The institutional source of credit is sub-divided into two classes : (1) Official source which includes Tribal Development Co-operative Society and (2) Non-official source which includes Kothighar (Graingola attached to Grama Panchayat). The private source of credit is sub-divided into four classes.

1. Non-tribal of own village which includes one creditor, that is, Gopal Khuntia, a Milkman of Tamera village :
2. Own tribe of own village which includes four creditors, that is, Hara Pradhan (House No. 4), Bhikari Saningi (House No. 10), Dania Parihal (House No. 17) and Chhabi Dehuri (House No. 20), all being Bhuinyas of Tamera village ;
3. Non-tribal of outside village which includes one creditor, that is, Kuchia Sahu, an oilman of Rangadihi ; and
4. Own tribe of outside village which includes two creditors, that is Kolha Pradhan and Punia Pahan both being Bhuinyas of Tangarpada and Irida respectively.

The Table 5 shows that Gopal Khuntia who belongs to the category of non-tribal of own village has the largest number of debtors and Kuchia Sahu who falls to the Category of non-tribal of outside village has the lowest number of debtors in the village. Arranged in order of importance the categories of creditors are non-tribal of own village of private category, having 25 debtors; non-official source of institutional category, having 20 debtors; official source of institutional category having 18 debtors, own tribe of own village, having nine debtors ; own tribe of outside village having two debtors and non-tribal of outside village having only one debtor in the study village. The only source from which the Bhuinya get cash loan is T. D. C. S. All other sources are of the category of grain lenders. Among them Gopal Khuntia, the Milkman is the biggest padhy lender in Tamera village. Next in importance are those of the Bhuinya Community belonging to the category of own tribe of own village whose business in rice considered together is the highest in the village. The non-tribal money or paddy lenders of other villages have very little business transaction with the Bhuinyas of the study village.

The total amount of loan both in cash and kind is converted to rice making it 1,053 kgs. Calculated at the rate of three kgs. of rice as the normal rate of consumption per day per family, 1,053 kgs. of rice will be sufficient for a fortnight for the 29 Bhuinya families of the study village.

6. *Domesticated Animals* —The animals domesticated by the Bhuinyas are cattle, goats and poultry. There are 35 cattle, 28 goats and 30 hens and cocks. The cattle are used mainly as draught animals and the goats and poultry are offered to the village deities and provide meat to the Bhuinyas. Calculated roughly the food obtained from the sources of domesticated animals is sufficient only for two weeks.

Taking all these sources of income into consideration all the 29 Bhuinya families are able to provide food for themselves for a period of 233 days. This means that there was a deficit of food for 127 days in the year under review. The consequences of this acute shortage of food are indebtedness, wage earning, malnutrition and chronic illness.

To get a clear picture of the dietatic situation a diet survey was taken up for a week from 17-1-1975 to 23-1-1975 in three families. The quantity of food of different kinds consumed during the week is given in the Table 6.

Table 6

(*Data on Diet Survey for a week*)

Family 1	(Three adult units)
17-1-75	Rice—1½ mana Vegetable—1 Kg. Wine—1 bottle.

18-1-75	Participated in village feast
19-1-75	Jalli (minor millet) 1 mana Rice — $1\frac{1}{2}$ kg. Wine—$\frac{1}{2}$ bottle
20-1-75	Ragi—1 kg. Onion—Re. 0·10 Roots—1 kg.
21-1-75	Participated in a feast at Tangarpada Rice—$\frac{1}{2}$ kg.
22-1-75	Rice—2 mana Roots——1 kg.
23-1-75	Rice—1 mana Routs—$1\frac{1}{2}$ mana

(Salt 1kg. per week)

Family—2 (4 adult units)

17-1-75	Rice—2 mana Vegetable—$\frac{1}{2}$ kg. Meat—$\frac{1}{2}$ kg. Spices—0·10 paise Tobacco—0·25 paise Wine—Re. 1·00
18-1-75	Praticipated in village feast. (2 kg. rice was consumed)
19-1-75	Rice—1 mana Minor millet—$1\frac{1}{2}$ mana Meat—$\frac{1}{2}$ kg.
20-1-75	Rice—$\frac{1}{2}$ mana Minor millet—2 mana Vegetables—$1\frac{1}{2}$ kg.
21-1-75	Participated in a feast at Talagada Took food in a relative's house.
22-1-75	Participated in a feast in a neighbouring village. (Took food in a relative's house)
23-1-75	Rice 2 mana Vegetables—1 kg. (Salt—1 kg. per week)

Family 3 (4 adult units)

17-1-75	Rice—1 mana
18-1-75	Participated in village feast
19-1-75	Rice—1 mana Roots—2 kgs.
20-1-75	Roots—3 kgs. Rice—$\frac{1}{2}$ mana
21-1-75	Participated in a feast at Talagada village. Roots—$\frac{1}{2}$ kg. Vegetables—1 kg. Drink—1 bottle
22-1-75	Rice—2 mana Onion—10 paise Dry fish—25 paise
23-1-75	Rice—1 mana Minor millet—1 mana Dry fish—25 paise (Salt 1 kg. per week)

All types of food were converted to money and then to rice. The idea was to estimate how much food in the form of rice was consumed by the three families in a week. The table 7 gives this conversion.

Table 7

Items of food-stuff	Family 1 (3 adult units)			Family 2 (4 adult units)			Family 3 (4 adults units)		
	Quantity used	Money value	Converted to rice (Kg.)	Quantity used	Money value	Converted to rice (Kg.)	Quantity used	Money value	Converted to rice (Kg.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
		Rs.			Rs.			Rs.	
Rice ..	8 mana (5 Kg.)	7·50	5	12 mana (8 Kg.)	12·00	8	6 mana (4 Kg.)	6·00	4
Vegetable ..	2 Kg.	3·00	2	4½ mana	4·50	3	1½ Kg.	2·25	1·500
Drink ..	Rs. 5	5·00	3·250	Re, 1	..	00·750	0·75 paise		00·500
Jalli (minor millet)	1½mana (1 Kg.)	1·50	1	(1¼ Kg.)	1·88	1·250	1½ mana (1 Kg.)	1·50	1
Ragi ..	1 Kg.	2·00	1·250	..	..	..	..	..	..
Roots ..	3 Kg.	..	1,500	..	..	..	(6 Kg.)	..	3
Spices .. Salt .. Tobacco ..	10 paise 1 Kg. 25 paise	..	00·250	10 paise 1 Kg. 25 paise	..	00·250	10 paise 1 Kg. 25 paise	..	00·250
Dry fish ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	50 paise	..	00·250
Meat ..	..	..		1 Kg.	6·00	4 Kg.	..	..	
	Total	..	14,250	..	..	147·250	..	..	10,500

The Table 7 shows that the three families consumed 42 kgs. of rice or roughly 2 Kgs. of rice per family per day. In the proceeding paragraphs the requirement of rice was calculated at 3 Kgs. per day. Calculated at this rate the Bhuinya families showed a deficit of food by 127 days. If the rate of consumption is reduced the food gap in terms of days of deficit may be reduced but the extent of under feeding and malnutrition will be increased to a considerable extent.

Inter-ethnic Relationship and External contact

The Bhuinyas both men and women can speak Oriya well. They have forgotten altogether their mother tongue. The mobility of the Bhuinyas is largely confined to their habitat except their visits to the weekly markets at Keonjhargarh and Jatra which are situated at a distance of 20 miles and 10 miles respectively from their village. As most of the Bhunyas have no Bila land and they have no contact with the non-tribal farmers having such land on agricultural matters. There is a horticultural farm 4½ kilometres away at Kanra. But the people of Tamera have adpoted nothing from the farm. Some of the factors which inhibit diffusion of improved practices into the village from the adjacent farm and market centres are the poverty of the people and the environmental limitations. This implies that no amount of opportunity for diffusion can effect any advance of the village beyond the limitations set by the habitat. The other implication of the situation which exists in the environs of the village is that the level to which the village can develop is dependant upon the agricultural potentiality of its ecological setting.

In social hierarchy the milkmen occupy the highest position. But the place which the Bhuinyas occupy in the hierarchy is also equally high. The Bhuinyas and the milkmen accept cooked food from one another. The Panas and the Juangs take food in the house of the Bhuinyas but the reverse is not true. The Bhuinyas do not touch either the Panas or the Juangs because they believe that such contact is defiling.

The Bhuinyas hold all leadership positions in the village. The secular headman (Pradhan) and the religious headman (Dehuri) belong to the Bhuinyas community. These positions are hereditary. The ward member is not elected but selected by unanimous decision. The village Pradhan and the Dehuri and the elders of the Bhuinya community dominate the village council in all deliberations. The village goddess and other deities are propititated by none but the Bhuinyas.

The standard of education among the Bhuinyas is very much low. Except a few people who are barely literate all others do not know how to read and write. There is an Ashram school at Kanra which is at a distanca of 4½ kilometres away from the village. But not a single child of this village is studying in this school. Added to the general disinterest of the Bhuinyas in education, the distance of the school from the village is a great disadvantage. No school of primary standard is present either in the village or within easy reach from the village. In view of this a residential Sebashram school in this area is badly needed. It is hoped that educational improvement among the Bhuinyas may creat interest in them for adopting with least resistance the developmental programmes which are being implemented in the Bhuinyapirh by the Government.

APPENDIX I

"An extract of ex-Keonjhar State Rules for Management and Preservation of Forest so far as it relates to (1) rights and concessions to tenants including Tribals and (2) also with regard to practice of shifting cultivation."

Rights & concessions—

RULES FOR RESERVED STATE FORESTS

In reserved forests no person will be entitled to enter it without permission to gather any forest produce, to cultivate it, to graze cattle or do anything calculated to cause injury to such forest.

Persons on entering a reserved forest will not be permitted to carry, kindle, or keep any fire on any pretext whatsoever while in the reserve, except as stated in Rule 4 below. Any person found infringing this rule will be liable to prosecution and fine, and further to the cancellation of any concession granted to him.

For the convenience of travellers passing through the reserved forest, or for sawyers working or graziers grazing in the reserved forest, certain places will be set apart and cleared of all undergrowth as camping grounds by the Forest Officer who will yearly notify the same. Camping at localities other than those set apart is strictly forbidden.

Note—No other rights of any kind exists in Reserved Forests.

The following aboriginal tribes, viz., Sabars, Juangs, Kols, Khonds, Malhars and Bhuiyas will be permitted to remove free when the produce is required for their own consumption, and not for purpose of sale, the following forest products, viz., yams, edible flowers, fruits and roots and edible leaves. In the event of any one of their number doing damage to any forest tree or produce he will be subject to the penalties laid down and his concession will be liable to be withdrawn.

Note—In the case of a fire occurring in the reserved area, all persons residing in the State, who are allowed to remove any produce from, or are employed in, or who live within a distance of five miles from the boundary of the forest in which the fire breaks out will be bound to report the same to the nearest Forest Officer, and will also help to extinguish the fire. Villagers living near the reserved forest shall be bound to keep up boundary lines and clear fire traces when ordered by the Superintendent on rates of payment fixed by him. They will be liable to be fined for any omission, neglect, refusal or disobedience on their part.

Grazing may be allowed in the reserved forests for all kinds of cattle, except sheep and goats, wherein the opinion of the Superintendent there is insufficient grazing in the open forest—subject to payment of grazing fee.

Rights & Concessions in Khesra Forests

The following classes of trees are declared to be reserved in the Khesra forests, and no person is entitled to cut the same without permission.

No.	Local Name	Botanical Name
1	Sal	Shorea robusta
2	Piasal	Pterocarpus marsupium
3	Sissu	Dalbergia latifolia
4	Kendu	Diospyros melanoxylon
5	Gambari	Gamelina arborea
6	Kusum	Schleichera trijuga
7	Kurum	Adina cordifolia
8	Asan	Terminalia tomoitosa
9	Harira	Terminalia chebula
10	Bahara	Terminalia belerica
11	Aunla	Phyllanthus emlica
12	Am	Mangifera indica
13	Tamarind	Tamarindus indica
14	Mohul	Bassia latifolia
15	Jack	Artocarpus integrifolia
16	Khair	Acacia catechu

No.	Local Name	Botanical Name
17	Bandhan	Ongenia dalbergiodes
18	Kongra	Xyla dolabriformis
19	Jam	Engenia Jambolana
20	Swamo Rohini	Soymida febrifuga
21	Sarap	Caryota urens
22	Bheru	Chloroxylon swietenia
23	Arjun	Terminalia arjuna
24	Char	Buchanania latifolia
25	Dhaw Dhoura	Ahogeissus latifolia

Provided, however, that such permission will not be necessary for gathering the fruit and flowers or leaves or any above-mentioned trees in Khesra forest.

Exception 1—Resin may be collected from spontaneous exudations only, and throughout the entire area of the Khesra forests of the State no ringing of trees will be allowed for the purpose.

Exception 2—Kurum trees may be cut by Kundras for the manufacture of combs and such other articles as they ordinarily manufacture.

Exception 3—Khair trees may be cut for the manufacture of catechu by persons licensed to manufacture the same.

Exception 4—Tusser rearing may be allowed on Asan scrubs in selected areas.

The Superintendent may, with sanction of the Political Agent, add any other trees to the list given in Section 1 and omit any of the trees therein specified either permanently or for any specific period.

With the permission of the Superintendent trees of the reserved species and bamboos may be felled, cut, lopped or removed and other forest produce may be manufactured and removed on behalf of a public object and State purpose, the produce being disposed of as may have been approved by the Superintendent. Any amount realised from this source will be credited as forest revenue.

Trees not reserved and all other forest produce whatsoever, may be felled, cut collected and removed by every forest cess-payer of the State, all Pans and members of the indigenous tribes and all persons of the poorer classes and landless labourers provided—

(a) That the produce shall be required for personal use and shall not be sold of bartered except in the case of pans and members of aboriginal tribes, poorer classes and landless labourers to persons privilege under these rules who will then be bound in the same way.

(b) That forest cess-payers may be allowed trees of reserved species when required for their own personal use at half the prescribed rate. Full royalty will be charged from all persons when required for export or sale.

(c) That all persons holding cultivated land within the State will be required to pay an assessment as sanctioned in the political Agent's letter No. 1197, dated the 26th August 1909, viz.:—

Name of Subdivision	Class of land								
	Each man of paddy or other land not being Toila			Each man of Toila land			Each man of culturable waste		
	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As,	P.
Sadar Subdivision	0	1	0	0	0	6	0	0	6
Nayagarh	0	1	0	0	0	6	0	0	6
Anandapur	0	1	3	0	0	9	0	0	6

On account of the general use of the Khesra forest

RULES AND PROHIBITIONS CONCERNING KHESTRA FORESTS

Subject to the rules for the Khesra or open forests the following acts are prohibited.

(1) The quarrying of stone

(2) The burning of line and charcoal

(3) The collection or subjection to any manufacturing process or removal of any forest produce.

(4) The breaking up or clearing of any land for cultivation, for building for hearding cattle or any other, purpose.

Tusks and minerals found within the State forest are the property of the State and no one will have any right to remove the same without permission.

No person, whether a resident of the State or not, shall clear or break up any land within the Khesra forest for cutivation or any other purpose without the previous sanction of 'the Superintendent which will only be granted when the land to be cleared is capable of conversion into wet lands.

Men of the Juang, Bhuiyas, Bhumijs, Savar, Kol, Malhar, Kandh and other aboriginal classes who do not live by regular cultivation, will be allowed to practise dahi *in such protion of the Khesra forest as may be pointed out to them for that purpose* but the Superintendent will endeavour to discourage the practice and induce the above tribes to teke to regular cultivation.

(i) Trees felled from grounds cleared for cultivation belong to the State, and the Superintendent may give them to the residents free for their own use or he may sell the timber.

No person, not a resident of the State, will have any right to remove any forest produce from any Khesra Forest without permission.

Also a brief description of the Forests of this **Forest** Division is enclosed herewith.

The Forests of Keonjhar are situated in the 'Dry Deciduous Zone", and towards the Scuth-easternly extremity of Central Indian sal belt which terminates in Midnapore district of Bengal; and is separated from the extension of the Tarai and Duars sal forests into Assam by the Gangetic plain and delta; and the litoral forests of the Sunderbans.

The general character of the vegetation of this Division is "Tropophillous" but with, a distinct tendency to xerophytic structure in many of its species. There are no trun rain forests, but a number of Eastern Himalayan and Assam species, occur locally in the cool moist valleys. Sal, is by far the most conspicuous species, and represents the present climatic climax; constituting over 60 per cent of the growing stock throughout the Division. In Barbil region this percentage is still greater about 90 per cent. In areas less suited for sal growth, the proportion of sal may be less.

In the central region of this Divisions however, in pockets forests with miscellaneous species along with sal occurs. The sal forests can further be divided into 5 types as per classifications made by Sir H. G. Champion.

(1) Type I—Dry mixed forest (with bamboo)

Anogeissus—Mitragyna. Dendrocalamus occurs in Parts of Baulah, Atei, Kalapat, Santoshpur and Barbank R. F. blocks. In this zone in valleys of hill streams and coller aspect more parcentage of sal occurs.

Other associate species are Adina cordifolia, Launea grandis, ongenia dalbegioides, Hymendodactyon execlsum; with shrubs of Helicleres isora. dendrocaiamus Rungia parviflora. Depending on edaphic factors subclimaxes are found.

(2) Type II Open grassy, dry sal forest (Shore—anogeissus—woodfordia)

This is found in exposed hill slopes, in all aspects, where the soil is shallow, infortile clay derived from decomposed shales which are often rich in secondary quartz. The top canopy is generally, under 30′ in height and consist of sal, zizyphus, xylopyros, Anogeissus latifolia. Gardenia gummifere, undergrowth consists of woodfordia fruticosa, Wendlendia tinctoria, Phoenxix acculis. Grasses are Arundinella setosa and Eulalipsis binata (Sabai)

(3) Type III—High level plateau Sal—Shorea—Bauhinia—Themeda).

This type comprises the forests growing on flatlopped hills, which are a characteristic feature in this Division. The elevation ranges from 2000 to 3000 feet above M. S. L. The soil is generally lateritic clay which has a low moisture retaining capacity. Strong winds, which are most prevalent at higher elevations, have a dessicating effect on the soil and exert and influence inimical to the rapid reafforestation of these plateau lands, The effect of past shifting cultivation, as a retrogressive factor, cannot also be under-rated. For these rensons sal tends to be pure but of very poor quality (generally Q. IV-V). Trees attain a height of 40' or so, althoug in sheltered position the height can be expected up to 60'.

Characteristic species of the top canopy are sal. Bauhinia retusa. Engenia species and gardenia species. Undergrowth consists of Indigofera hamiltonii, Flemingia paniculata, Crotorlaria hirta, conyza species, Laggera eleta, vicoa indica, Grasses are abundant, and consist of Arundinacea sctosa, Apluda varia, Themeda imberis, and cyperus niveus. Typical climber is Bauhinia vahlii (Siali).

(4) Type IV—Moist Hill Sal—Wendlandia—Indigofera.

This type is widely distributed in this Division. It avoids hot slopes and thrives better on the northy aspects upto 3000 feet elevation, Height growth is 70 feet (average).

Its characteristic associates are Buchanania Lanzan (Char) Diospyros melanoxylon (Kendu), Terminalia tomentosa (Asan) Emblica officinalis (Anla). Typical shrubs are—Wendlandia tintoria. Gargenia gummifera, G. Turgida, woodfordia fruticosa (Dhatki). Grasses are numerous, conepicuous being Eulaliopsis binnata (Sabai) Heteropogin contortus. Pollinia species. Apluda varia. Schima nervosum. Phoenix accutis, is often very abundant. Fire plays a great role in such forests either to promote or retared growth-creating various community of plants.

(5) Type V—Valley Sal (Shorea—flemingia—Imperata)

Sal occurs mostly and purely—mixed with (as underwood) Asan, Dhaura, Kusum. Kasi, Koim or Kurum, Mohua, Typical herbs and shrubs are flemingia, Wendlendia species, Randia dumalortam, Antidesma diandrus, etc. This type of forest is very rich in climbers of which Siali and Butea parviflora (Palasa) are most conspicuous. Slightly shade bearing grasses are common and consists of Imperata arundinacea. Eulatia argentea, puliculum articulata, Amphilophis glabra.

(6) Type VI --Moist Mixed Sal (Terminalia—Mallotus—Combretum)

In such type of forests, the soil is usually deep clayey loam. Flora is remarkable for the diversity of composition and luxuriance of its growth. Canopy is invariably closed. Height of crop exceeds 100'. Large climbers are abundant, notably combretum. Sal is seldom entirely absent although it forms only an insignificant proportion of the total crop. Asan and Kurum (koim) are most conspicuous. Other typical species are Rai, Siris, Semul, Kasi, Mallotus, Polyelthia cerasoides. Although this plant community is clearly an edephic climax, at times it also appers as post climax to the valley sal (typicai in Rebna R. F.)

(7) Type VII—Coastal Sal (Shorea—Dillenia—Croton)

Typical coastal sal is nowhere developed in this Division. This type is conditioned by high humidity and absence of extrimes of temperatures.

Thus, as can be seen, the forests of this Division are mostly sal type, in the Dry Deciduous zone towards the south easterly extremity of central Indian sal belt.

The forests in Bhuyanpirh and Juangpirh can be classed under Type IV and V; but due to constant human interference, there is fast retrogrDssion. Given rest, these forests might recover back to their original types.

Productivity in Shifting cultivation is dependent more upon fast regeneration of forest growth; so that fertility of the soil can increase.

Therefore shifting cultivators need be trained to adopt agro-silviculture methods i.e. growing of forest species or cash crops along with their crops, fitting to their rotation of shifting cultivation from 10-12 years.

APPENDIX II

Rights and Concessions in Keonjhar Forest Division

Reserved species	..	(1) Sal, (2) Piasal, (3) Sisoo, (4) Kendu, (5) Gahmar, (6) Kurum, (7) Kusum, (8) Asan, (9) Harida, (10) Bahada, (11) Anja, (12) Ambo, (13) Tentuli, (14) Mahula, (15) Jack, (16) Khair, (17) Bandhan, (18) Kangra, (19) Jamu, (20) Swam, (21) Sarop, (22) Bheru, (23) Arjun, (24) Char, (25) Dhaw, (26) Toon, (27) Kochila.
Nistar cess other cesses	..	Nistar cess
		Re. 0-2-0 per acre on wet land royati
		Re. 0-1-0 per acre of Goda land royati
		Re. 0-3-0 per acre of wet land lakhraj
		Re. 0-4-6 per acre of goda land lakhraj
		Chandan cess
		Re. 0-4-0 per household
		Demand Rs. 60,000

In 'A' class R. F.—

Timber	..	Free to cess payers with previous sanction if not available in Khesra Forests.
Firewood	..	Nil
Bamboo	..	Free with permission if not available in Khesra Forests
Minor Forest Produce	..	Fibre free if not available in the Khesra Forests with permission.

Aboriginal tribes, landless or poorer classes are allowed to remove for the purpose of sal naturally fallen firewood, bamboos, fibres, leaves and grasses, honey and wax on payment as follows:—

Firewood	..	Re. 0-12-0 per annum for one head load a day
Grass	..	Rs. 1-8-0 per annum for one bahangi load a day
Fibres, leaves		
Honey and wax	..	According to the rates in force

Hadis, Dombs, Gardasand and other tribes are permitted to take bamboos on payment of following rates:—

		Rs.	A.	P.	
Head load a day	..	1	8	0	per annum
Bahangi load, a day	..	3	0	0	per annum

Kundras are permitted to remove trees for making combs and other articles on payment of royalty at half rates.

Aboriginal tribes are ' permitted to remove for their own consumption edible fruits, roots lowers and leaves free.

Grazing .. No free grazing

		Tenants rates Per head	Outsiders rates Per head
		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Cow or Bullock	..	0 2 0	0 4 0
Buffalo	..	0 4 0	0 8 0
Elephants or Camel	..	0 8 0	1 0 0
Horse, Poney	..	0 3 0	0 6 0
Donkey	..	..	..

In 'B' class R. Fs. or D, P. Fs. —Timber. For cess paying villages situated within a convenient radius of 'B' class R. F. timber for agricultural implements free according to a fixed scale. Excess over the scale at $\frac{1}{4}$ suhedule of rate.

Firewood .. Free according to the scale prescribed excess over the scale at $\frac{1}{4}$ the scheduled of rate.

M. P. F. .. Free

Grazing .. No free grazing

	Tenant's rates Rs. A. P.	per head	Professional rates Rs. A. P.	per head
Cow or Bullock ..	0 1 0	,,	0 2 0	,,
Buffalo ..	0 2 0	,,	0 4 0	,,
Elephant of camel, .	0 4 0	,,	0 8 0	,,
Horse, Donkey and Poney,	0 2 0	,,	0 4 0	,,

In Khesra or Unreserves or U. D. P. Fs.—

Timber .. Unreserved and reserved species for agricultural implements free. Reserved spacies for personal use at $\frac{1}{4}$ schedule of rate. All Pans and members of the indigenous tribes and all persons of poorer classes and landless labourers allowed unreserved trees for their personal use as well as for sale and reserved trees for personal use.

Firewood .. Free

Bambos, M. F. P. and Grazing Free

TRIBAL EDUCATION AND TRIBAL LANGUAGES (A NEW STRATEGY IN CONTEXT OF ORISSA)

D. P. PATTNAYAK

(Orissa occupies a unique postition in the tribal map of India. The 62 groups declared as scheduled tribes in the Presidential order of 1956 constitute 23·22 of the population of the State. The scheduled area constituting 46·8 per cent of the total area of the state houses 60·65 per cent or the total tribal population. The rest are distributed among almost all the districts. The tribals in Orissa are either speakers of languages belonging to the Munda family or Dravidian. Orissa with 56·58 per cent of its population below poverty line presents a bleak picture as far as severe destitution of tribals are concerned. This should be treated as a national problem. Orissa needs to seek solution which would show the way to other States having similar problems.)

The old approach to education is so overwhelming that even tribal educators of India have pointed out the need for a well thought -out uniform policy for the whole of India with regard to education in tribal areas'. Their pleading that 'this policy need not be interpreted or applied too rigidly' is a grudging recognition of local and regional variation of problems and sounds almost pathetic. This is typical of the mind of the educated middle class elite which speaks of progressive plans but check effective implementation. The so called progressivism is uptopian and romantic and not based on the needs and plan is intended.

One could take one of the two conventional approaches while discussing education. Following the sectoral approach one could talk of the primary, the secondary and the higher education and provide statistics to show growth or retardation of education in each of the sectors. One could present statistics regarding stagnation and wastage in each sector of education and relate it to societal factors. One could also talk about adult education, formal and non-formal education and assess the achievements and failures over a period of time. Alternately, one could take about structural problems of management and inspection. For example, in some States tribal schools are run by three agencies, the Education Department, the Tribal Welfare Department and voluntary agencies. As Education

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1. The paper was presented in a special seminar at Bhubaneswar on the 7th June 1976 organised at the initiative of the Tribal Welfar Department of the Government of Orissa.

departments have no special staff, the tribal welfare departments have no expertise in the field of education, one could cite examples in different States where tribal schools have not been inspected for ten years if not more. However, unless one is clear about the goals of education and is familiar with both the macro and micro context of the tribal societies it is not possible to talk meaningfully about tribal education.

Education is a tool of transmission of culture, accumulated knowledge and experience of a society. It is also the tool for economic betterment and societal change. Today all educationists are talking of uniformity in design, content and structure of education. There is no wonder that there is such confusion about the purpose and goal of general education, not to speak of tribal education.

There are many worlds within our world. There are also many worlds within India. There appears to be a continuum between the developed and the developing, between the rich and the poor. As in the international field there are the developed countries in relation to which India is developing, within the developing word, India is developed in comparison to say, Mali, the GNP of which is so low that it does not find a place in the GNP map of Africa. Within a developing country, the great divide seems to be between the rich and the poor. The poor in its turn, is divided between the urban and the rural poor, the tribals coming at the bottom of the rural.

India provides a very interesting case study for social change. A melting pot of several language families, ethnic groups and a mosaic of cultural patterns, India presents a unique case of cultural pluralism bound by a single thread of cultural homogeneity. Therefore one would expect variety rather than uniformity in education, both as flowering and expression of the cultural diversity and as strategies to meet the diverse needs and aspirations of different cultural groups. But the existing uniform structure and content of education caters to neigher and is by and large irrelevant to most sectors of the society.

The elitist base of present education strengthens the metropolitan and rural vested interest, which has little commitment to the developmental needs and economic priorities of the rural sector in general and rural poor in particular. On the contrary the vested interest groups are against fundamental economic change which has the slightest possiblity of threatening their interests and privileges.

The rich are almost always indentified as elites and the elites hold the passport to rank, status and wealth in most societies. Their behaviour is not only the model, their language is invariably the standard to be emulated by others. If one looks at the Indian scene one can see that the economically rich areas within each State are the focal areas as far as standard languages are concerned. Thus as Krishnamurthy points out, in Andhra Pradesh "The Central Area—Krishna-Godavari River Belt—being economically rich has produced a conscious elite"[1] and this is the area the language of which is the standard for Telugu. For the tribal who is in the lowest rung of poverty and social hierarchy, the distance from eliticism as well as the standard form of the language is so great as to be insurmountable.

In the classification of poverty, the tribals come in the lowest rung and are below the subsistence level. But it must be remembered that richness and poverty are not facts of tribal life. They are implanted by the non-tribals and by the educated. Therefore the tribal looks both with suspicion while the tribals are made conscious about their poverty, neither a will to change nor dissatisfaction at the rate of change is created in them. They are neither a party to the planning for change nor have they any role in its implementation. Therefore, the education system which engenders such planning, pulverises their social status and self-respect and converts them into masses is regarded by the tribals as irrelevant.

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[1] Krishnamurthy Bh., Bilingualism and Social Dialects in Telugu (Unpublished).

One can also see this process of dehumanisation as a spectrum. As a man from a developing country, no matter how qualified he is, is willing to subject himself to relatively lower status and low income in comparison with comparable categories of citizens in developed countries, a person from a village is willing to give up the pride in traditional social status in favour of a salary earning menial job in the city. A tribal who is taught about his inferior status in the caste ridden hierarchical society of the non-tribal, is forced into seeking menial jobs like peons or attenders outside their own area after coming out of Ashram Schools/Secondary Schools. As Desai puts it, education "creates occupational differentiation affecting role differentiations and consequently social interactions".[1] The alienation of the educated tribal is thus complete, while the uneducated fatalistically resign themselves to their poor lot.

Thus it will be seen that whether it is from the point of view of economic development or social betterment, the present educational system offers very little to the tribal community.

Why separate attention need be given to tribal education ?

(*a*) Tribal social structure is different from that of the non-tribals. Different ethnic groups have different structural problems.

(*b*) The tribes are at different levels of economic organisation. By and large they are food gatherers, hunters, shifting cultivators and artisans. Their life cycle is different from the non-tribal.

(*c*) The tribes are dispersed in large areas, not always easily accessible. This, coupled with the fact that a tribal village consists hamlets make rational organisation of schools difficult.

(*d*) The tribes encompass all the four language families. Many small groups speaking diverse languages and dialects which are mostly unwritten find communication and education difficult. Both education managers and teachers erroneously consider economic and societal reasons responsible for low achievement. The fact that language plays a major role in the low, performance and consequent low self-image of the tribal child has not been properly appreciated.

(*e*) As there is no education in the family background for generations, and the tribal child living in the fringes of non-tribal society finds himself cognitively unequal to the non-tribal child, the inferiority complex is built into his mind right from the beginning of formal schooling. In this connection it may be pointed out that although the country has an overall literacy of 29·35 per cent, the ST literacy is only 11·29 per cent. This is one of the factors responsible for the lower educational achievement of the children. As the adults are not convinced of the benefits of formal education, it is not possible to escape the large scale wastage and stagnation.

(*f*) In the absence of trained ST candidates, outsiders are appointed as teachers and administrators, who without access to their language, lack first-hand communication.

In view of all these tribal education can never be uniform. It must seek solutions to group specific problems in different States. There is a misplaced apprehension in some quarters that in finding separate solutions for integration of different groups, the seeds of disunity may grow. It must however be understood that the distinction is between apathetic attitude leading to inaction on the part of the planners which gets a response of dissatisfaction verging on hatred towards the system and its managers and a conscious strategy based on empathy leading to a national unity based on self-fulfilment of small groups. A conscious strategy of unity in diversity cannot lead to disunity.

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[1] Desai, I. P., Planning Education in Tribal Areas in Integrated Tribal Development Planning, N I C D, Hyderabad, 1975.

Anthropologist and welfare workers have added to the confusion in no small measure. Some anthropologists and social workers are responsible for the notion that the tribal represents a twentieth century old stone age culture. Some want this culture to be preserved and are dead against modernity affecting it in any way. Others want them to do modernised and civilised. As one group in the name of preservation of culture has no compunction in making them perform in State capitals on festive occassions, the other group in the name of development has no compunction in depriving the tribal of his land his vocation and destroy his social institutions. The debate among the change oriented and the no-changers among anthropologists has perplexed the education planners. Is the kind of education imparted today instrumental in destroying the social fabric of the tribals? Can it be used to protect them against the threatening urbanisation? These value loaded questions and the debates on them neither help the tribal nor the planner.

The welfare worker who is mostly guided by a guilt complex or a false sense of sympathy towards the tribal considers every activity as liberal charity. Thus all their activities are aimed at solving the immediate need of the tribal rather than creating muscle in them to bear their own burden. The attitude of the Union and State Governments, which have special responsibilities for promotion of tribal education under Article 46 of the Indian Constitution, is by and large guided by welfare consideration. As L. R. N. Srivastav[5] sums up the facilities extended by the Governments, they are provision of 'school buildings, teachers, free studentship, free text books, and at selected places free board and lodging facilities and midday meals'. All of these may create conditions for education, but certainly none of them singly or all of them jointly could be called education.

A section of people in the Government treat the tribal problem as one of law and order. Whether it is shifting cultivation utilisation of forest produce or tribal justice which are intimately connected with their life style are treated as transgression of laws promulgated by and for the non-tribals. The tribal is then punished for his cultural values, his life style and his ethos about which judgement has already been passed by a ruling society which he naturally considers enemical to his interest. There is no wonder that the tribal people are not keen to take advantage of facilities of education which then appears to be calculated to destroy their social fabric.

The educationist who confuses educationa goals with the above is naturally led astray When an educationist talks of opposition between 'Science base' and 'culture based' curriculum for the tribal, he is a victim of confusion. First of all, science and culture are not exclusive concepts. Secondly it is wrong to think that as regards the prevalence or otherwise of scientific attitudes, a tribal society is in any great measure different from the non-tribal societies. Thirdly arts, crafts and folklore are as important components of education as tales of Scientific inventions. There is no reason why both cannot be given for both tribals and non-tribals. One of the major problems confronting tribal educators is the mixed school. Those who take tribals for granted use this as excuse for inaction and those who wish to do something are baffled. The problem arises primarily because education systems today put all students in a uniform mould, expecting them to reach a specific target within a single time scale. Educationists have no soluations for the socially oppressed, for those who are first generation school goers. Unless structural changes are made in the present schools and flexibility of approach adopted, this problem cannot be solved. The only soluation lies in breaking the curriculum into courses and credit and permitting the children to complete the required number of courses at their own pace. Unless education gives a chance to the socially deprived and economically backward to overcome their past deficiencies, it will remain a club of the privileged. It is then bound to crumble under the weight of its own irrelevance.

Guest Speaker : Dr. D. P. Pattnayak

Seminar on New Strategy for Tribal Development

Educationists have often spoken of the problem-solving education. The problems posed by the elitist teacher and the test-book is not the problem of life. If at all such problems have any relevance, then they are relevant to the lives of the privileged. As the formal education system expects the child to conform to the logic of the present which has kept him submerged in ignorance and poverty, he has little motivation for giving attention to it, not to speak of pursuing it with any seriousness. Education for tribals and other such socio-economically underprivileged can only be meaningful if it is problem-posing rather than problem solving.

In the context of tribal education, a ridiculous notion is work experience. To waste formal education time for a child coming from a working class family and engaged in productive work at home on work experience or some fancy programmes under vocationalisation scheme is nothing but preposterous. Unless the tribal culture is related to productivity in a manner relevant to the tribal social life and economy, credit is given to the child's work at home and his latent skills are recognised and developed in the school as part of rhe educational programme, education would remain an empty slogan for the tribal.

The tribal child is in some ways differen from the non-tribal. So is the tribal adult learner. This difference sterns from the differing socio-economic and cultural pattern of the tribals. Unfortunately most educated people confuse this difference with deficiency in the tribal mind. This confusion stemming largely from ethnocentricism finds its expression in statements like 'Saora has 700 words', it is not possible to dissuss high culture in tribal languages' etc. This mentality also finds its expression in the insinuation that the tribal is less social and less national if not anti-social and anti-national. Therefore experts on tribal education time and again have recommended that "Both primary education and Social education should be given wide coverage specially in educationally backward tribal areas or communities", and in stating the aims of tribal education have emphasised that, "The educational institutions and processes should strengthen forces of national integration"[4]. In a country as diverse in ethnicity, language, religion and regional culture national integration is a necessary goal. But to single out the tribals for education in national integration betrays a mind which is basically parochial and ethnocentric. As has been pointed out earlier, problems in tribal education is an extreme case of education of socially oppressed, tribal or non-tribal. Therefore to submerge the tribals with extra-paternalism only because of their being tribals not only does not give any new insight to the solution of their problems, but promotes and sustains separatism.

Tribal education must be viewed as an integrated programme, both from the point of curriculum and distribution of the gains of education. For example the tribal schools must have an integrated curriculum in which science, social studies, arithmetic and language, etc., are not compartmentalised, but form part of well defined object of learning. Following this approach the text books should contain topics on physical environment personal and social hygiene, social institutions and the like. The skills of language as a subject and language as a medium should be concurrently developed.

Ths school language of the tribal is invariably different from that of the home language. Even if he speaks a variety of the dominat language it is invariably different from the standard variety which is the language of the books. The language text books in the school seldom teach the skills; even the very primary level books attempt to teach literature- very often badly organised and seldom touching contemporary writing. It is no wonder that the child is taught to learn the text book by heart. The tribal child coming from a poor socio-economic background and from families where there was no education for generations does not have a chance to use an. elaborate code in diversified circumstances, The cognitive skills of abstraction, deductions, argumentation, etc., which are essentially language based and which the child is not taught at elementary stages create further deficiencies in the child. The cumulative effect of this deficiency is not only felt at the end of elementary education but also felt at the end of formal higher education. There is no wonder that the school at Latiachhra in Tripura, during the last 25 year of its existence, has produced only 3 S S L Cs and not single graduate.

The present education system has not adopted any conscious strategy to remedy this deficiency. Even conversation and discussions using the spoken school language which would stimulate students to question and thus result in greater class-room interaction has not been built into the teaching programme. Wherever an effort has been made to teach tribal language as well as the dominant language either both are taught in parallel streams or the student is taught entirely through the mother tongue medium in the elementary stage to be confronted with the dominant language at the post-primary stage. Unless a , conscious strategy for transition from the home language to school language is built in to the formal elementary education of the tribal children. it is almost impossible to meet their educational needs. This transfer programme has to be effected not only in the spoken material but also in the reading material. Unless special reading manuals are prepared keeping in view the difficulties of the tribal child he is bound to ag behind.

A question is generally raised about the feasibility of primary education through the 400 tribal mothertongues with all their local variations. In this connection it must be remembered that the actual number of tribal languages in the country is less than 100. Moreover a call for mother tongue education is not a political slogan when talked about by educationists. It is not so much to maintain the political or legal rights of the linguistic minority as ensuring a good and creative educations for the minority and ensuring the full flowering of his personality. If the language the child brings to the class room is derided and he is asked to learn a new language for class-room interaction as well as for reading books, than he is in a disadvantageous position in comparison with the one whose home language is the same as the school language. It should now be clear that a school need not start teaching in the tribal language for the form shake, if the child is already bilingual and controls the school language. What is important is to adopt a strategy for giving the sense of self-assertion to the child and ensuring a smooth transition to the school language, wherever necessary.

The teacher is the kingpin in any innovative educational programme. But the teacher who is ill-equipped both from the point of content and methodology, who is called upon to handle four classes simultaneously while looking after administration as well as feeding programme, has very little chance of being innovative. His handicap with the tribal language and his ignorance of the newer discoveries in the fields of teaching and learning further restrict him in his professional performance. Tribal education is not altogether a different kind of education. It is education to suit the special needs and aspirations of tribal groups who are in different stages of development. Tribal identity is not a matter of shame. It is true that many groups who are completely acculturated wear it as a badge of privilage. But there is no reason to expect or demand that the tribal should either wholly retain or loose all of his culture. If the educated go through a basically western education but retain something which can be recognised as Indian. there is no reason why the tribal, no matter how highly educated he becomes, could not retain something of the tribal heritage. The education system offers little by way of tribal culture in the school curriculum. It has not recognised diversity as a basis of educational planning for the tribal and evolved any strategy which will ensure a smooth transition from the home language to the school language by the end of the primary school. The plea here is for ameliorative planning which will make education relevant to the life of the tribal and help him take advantage of the mainstream education as equal without a sense of deficiency and social oppression.

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FREQUENCY OF COLOUR BLINDNESS AND TONGUE FOLDING AMONG THE TIBETANS AT CHANDRAGIRI RE-SETTLEMENT CAMP DISTRICT GANJAM

S. PATEL

Abstract

This paper reports the incidence of colour blindness and ability to roll the tongue among 136 unrelated Tibetan boys (10—18 years) rehabilitated at Chandragiri, Ganjam district, Orissa. These traits are of genetic compositions. Inheritance of colour blindness is sex-linked whereas ability to roll the tongue is inherited as a simple dominant.

Material and Methods

For colour blindness, Ishihara plates ('60) number 1 to 17 were used to test all these subjects one after another carefully in alternative rooms. But for tongue rolling, the subjects were asked to bring the sides of the tongue over the top, as I demonstrated being a tongue folder.

Results

Out of 136 boys tested, thirteen, (i.e, 9·5 per cent) were detected to have defective colour vision. On plates 16 and 17, a normal, according to Ishihara, reads 26 and 13 respectively. Protanopes and strong protanomalous read only 6 on plate 16 and only 3 on plate 17, while deuteranopes and strong deuteranomalous read only 3 on plate 16 and only 9 on plate 17. Mildly protanomalous people reads 6 more clearly than 3 on plate 16 and 3 more clearly than 9 on plate 17 while mildly deuteranomalous people read just the reverse more clearly.

Table 1

Sub-classification of the Thirteen Abnormals

Subject	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Diagnosis
No.	12	7	26	5	3	16	73	6	45	6	7	16	63	×	×	26	13	Normal
23	12	7	60	3	5	16	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	36	3	4	Deuteranope
36	12	7	60	3	5	16	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	36	3	4	Deuteranope
39	12	7	60	3	5	16	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	36	3	4	Deuteranope
46	12	7	60	3	5	16	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	36	3	4	Deuteranope
67	12	7	60	3	5	16	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	36	3	4	Deuteranope
73	12	3	60	3	5	16	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	36	3	4(2)	Deuteranope or Deuter-anomalous.
91	12	3	60	3	5	16	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	36	3	4(2)	Deuteranope or Deuter-anomalous.
96	12	3(8)	60	3	5	16	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	36	3(6)	4(2)	Deuter-anomalous.
19	12	3	60	3	5	16	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	36	3	1	Protanope
103	12	3	60	3	5	16	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	36	3	1	Protanope
113	12	3	60	3	5	16	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	36	3	1	Protanope
123	12	8	60	3	5	16	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	36	(3)6	(1)2	Protanomalous.
119	12	3	60	3	5	16	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	36	(3)6	(1)2	Protanomalous.

× indicates No. read

( ) indicates the figure read less clearly

Protanope	3 in No.. . . .2·2%
Protanomalous	2 in No.. . . 1·46%
Deuteranope or Deuteranomalous and Deuteranope	7 in No.. . . .5·1%
Dauteranomalous	1 in No. . .0·73%

Proportion of deutan type to portan type is—9:4

Table 2

Frequencies of colour blindness among people of some parts of India

Population	Investigator	No. of Males Tested	Percentage	No. of Females Tested	Percentage of Defective
1. Andhra Pradesh School Children.	K. R. Dronamraju and P. Meerakhan (1961).	292	5·73	272	0·369
2. Frequency of C B. in Orissa.	K. R. Dronamraju (1963).	504	4·96	..	..
3. Some population groups of Maharastra.	Arabinda Basu (1964)	951	3·26	..	..
4. Sindhis of Delhi ..	Parmod Khullar (1966)	253	6·32	227	..
5. Rarhi Brahmins and Muslims of W. Bengal.	P. N. Bhattacharya (1956).	217 213	6·91 5·61	..	..
6. Frequency of C. B. among the Tibetans at Chandragiri.	Present Study ..	136	9·5	..	..

Table 3

Frequency of Tongue folding among the Tibetans

Total	Folder		Non-folder	
	No	%	No	%
136	86	63·79	50	36·21

Summary

Out of 136 Tibetan boys tested for colour blindness and tongue folding, 13 boys were judged to have abnormal colour vision and 86 to be capable of folding their tongues. The incidence of deutans and protans is found to be 5·84 per cent and 3·66 per cent respectively. The proportion of green-blind to red-blind in the present sample is 9:4. From Table 1, it is seen that a colour blind individual tends to associate more closely with other colour blind people than with non-colour blind people. It is even probable that colour blind people of the same subgroup ten to come together. Table 2 shows that overall incidence of colour vision in India is 5·736 per cent.

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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE COGNITIVE ABILITIES OF UNSCHOOLED CHILDREN OF BONDA AND DONGARIA KONDHA OF KORAPUT DISTRICT*

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SARAT DAS

Introduction

Cognition refers to various modes of acquiring knowledge such as, perception, learning, thinking, memory, remembering, feeling, acting and the like. Mainly cognitive abilities include the individual's perceptual, conceptual, linguistic and intellectual abilities. The general modes of intellectual functioning are required for the ability to comprehend instructions in the general schools and to keep oneself at per with the educability norms of the society. The developmental trend of these cognitive abilities is known as cognitive growth. Cognitive growth develops out of a large number of cognitive encounter of the individual with the environment. It is through these encounters that the individual structures and restructures his own environment in a meanigful way for healthier, effective and meaningful living. Cognitive innovations are responsible to the intellectual functions of accommodation and assimilation.

Since cognitive growth develops out of continuous environmental interaction, it is to a large extent shaped by the specific cultural variables of the culture in which the individual lives. Brunner (1966) has admitted the rate of cultural variable in the shaping and nurturing of cognitive growth. Culture provides certain agents which is either facilitating or inhibiting in its effect upon cognitive growth. The children born with almost same genetic potentialities but reared in different cultural set-up are likely to show different course and rate of cognitive development.

In recent years evidences have been accumulated which indicate that certain socio-cultural environments are associated with below average intellectual functioning. Intelligence has been defined by Wechsoler as the global capacity of the individual to think rationally, act purposefully and deal effectively in his environment. Intelligence mainly incorporates one's ability for certain and abstract thinking with higher degree of precision and distinctiveness. Language ability is regarded as cognitive variable and is highly essential for comprehending instruction for analysis, synthesis and evaluation of information. Poor linguistic efficiency is associated with below average cognitive functioning. Perceptual ability refers to the individuals ability to focus upon the relevant attributes of the stimulus situation for solving a problem. Conceptual ability refers to the individuals capacity to group a number of objects and events under a common level by responding to their abstract chaiacteristics. These four kinds of abilities are essential for effecting information gathering and processing informations successfully. All these aspects are also shown to be highly correlated with one's success in school's related tasks and hence the extent of educability. But studies show that the children coming from deprived homes and invironments exhibit clear-cut deficit in all the above mentioned areas as compared to their advantaged counter-parts. The attempts to bring them on par with the advantaged sections of the society have mainly built upon giving them effective compensatory training throuh intervention programme frame work.

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*This psychological study is a part of Monographic study which was taken up among the Dongria kondh and the Bonda of Koraput District, Orissa to get a comparative picture of the cognitive ability of the unschooled children in the age group of 11-12 years. Research design was prepared by Shri P.S. Das Patnaik, Research Officer under the guidance of Dr. K. Mohapatra, Deputy Director, T. H. R. T. I. The field work tabulation and processing of data were done by Shri Subash Ch. Hota, Junior Research Officer and Shri Anam Mallick, Investigator under the guidance and supervision of Shri P. S. Das Patnaik. The report was finally prepared by Smt. Sarat Das, Junior Research Officer under the guidance of Dr. N. Patnaik, Director, T. H. R. T. I.

Cognitive growth and Environmental deprivation.

Clark and Clarke (1953) isolated certain adverse environmental factors associated with depressed intellectual functioning. The list mainly included gross pounding, negligence shown to the children by parents, poor household management, inadequate and improper housing, substandard nutrition, low parental educational and occupational attainment, unskilled vocation, improper child-rearing practices. Children coming from home environment characterised by these conditions have been shown to be poorer in their intelligence level. Effective training could raise their IQ to a higher level Wheeler (1942) also showed that the intelligence test scores of isolated mountain and canal-boat children who grew in unstimulating and non-demanding intellectual environments declined progressively across developmental context. Berustein (1962) has also suggested that the children from deprived cultural environments are poorer in many aspects of language ability both qualitatively and quantitatively. Deutsch (1964) has also pointed out all-porvasive verbal under development of the disadvantaged children. The verbal underdevelopment mainly arises out of poor mother-Child communication system, lack of connective feedback and unusual emphasis on motor activity in the disadvantaged homes. Vocabulary use, length of remark, and complexity of sentences are below the norms for the disadvantaged children (Jones, 1966). The children from deprived culture are also shown to be poorer in their conceptual ability and verbal mediation.

For formation of characteristics of the disadvantaged children.

All the above mentioned studies show that environmental deprivation is associated with depressed intellectual and social functioning when the children from the disadvantaged sections of the society come to attend the primary schools, their conceptual, linguistic and intellectual abilities are significantly below the norms of their advantaged counterparts. These children do not follow the class-room instructions imparted in the primary schools. Therefore the initial deficit gets cumulated over years ultimately leading to high rate of stagnation and drop out. Miller (1968) has identified three performance characteristics of these children.

(*a*) Progressive decline in intellectual functioning.

(*b*) Accumulative academic achievement deficit.

(*c*) Pre-mature school termination and high drop-out rate.

Because of the poor performance of these children in school-related tasks and quite a large number of out-of-the school distracting forces, it is no longer possible to keep them in the schools.

Major areas of difference between the advantaged and disadvantaged.

Miller (1968) has identified four major classes of variables where the disadvantaged children show clear-cut deficit as compared to their advantaged counterparts as, (*a*) Cognitive variables and (*b*) Motivational variables, (*c*) personal style variables and (*d*) Physical variables. In the above paragraphs, a discussion is already made on the major cognitive deficit.

Motivational variables mainly refer to the individuals persistent activity in the goal oriented direction. The disadvantaged children do not experience a good deal of motivation to work in the school related subjects because of their continual failure. In our schools no concrete reinforcement is provided to these children. The goal structure before them is abstract in form. Hence-low level of aspiration and motivation along with lack of concrete reward and goal structure hastens the rate of their failure.

Personal style variables refer to the individual's approach behaviours to solve a problem. They mainly include self-esteem, feeling of insecurity, threat of external danger, success-failure orientation, impulsivity, reflective, etc. The disadvantaged children are less sensitive to the success and failure experiences in the schools. They have lower self-esteem, high feeling of insecurity, and they are impulsive by tempo. While solving a problem they show unconsidered responses.

Physical variables include substandard nutrition, poor sensory motor co-ordination and the physiological factors necessary to maintain continued performances. Mal-nutrition or substandard nutritions occuring in the period ranging from 6 months before birth to 6 months after causes irreparable intellectual damage to the child. Intoxication on the part of the pregnant mothers also seriously retards the intellectual make-up of the child.

All these major four classes of variables operate in isolation and combination so as to cause irreparable intellectual loss in the disadvantaged children.

Disadvantaged children in Orissa

In Orissa the children coming from Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe groups are taken as deprived children. They are not exposed to the normal range of stimulation which is necessary for their cognitive development. Their intellectual heritage is poor. Environment lacks stimulation. Educational level of the parents is extremely poor. Economic insufficiency is the main stumbling block for further progress. In all aspects of life they are continually neglected and sometimes exploited by the higher sections of the society. Their home condition is characterised by lack of sensory stimulation, parental neglect of the child, over crowded and inadequate housing, poor mother-child communication system, conflict and chaos inside the family, noisy atmosphere prevaling in the family, substandard nutrition or malnutrition. The social conditions of these groups are still worse and are characterised as conflict and riots among the groups, irrational culture and religious rites, revengefulness, murder, rape exploitation, anxiety, irresponsiveness. When the children from these social and home conditions come to the schools, they fail to accept the new demand set before them. It appears as a cultural shock to them. All the more, parents demand on their children are in conflict with those the schools set upon them. Parents usually want their children to join their work and not the school. Hence, most of them remain unschooled, and those who come to the school stagnate or drop-out before a considerable amount of time passes.

The tribal children in Orissa suffer from most of the cognitive deficits which are already described. Now-a-days attempts are made on an extensive scale to educate them, to assure them of economic sufficiency and a healthy and meaningful way of living in the society. Different measures are being taken by the Government to bring them on par with the advantaged sections of the society. They are given all educational facilities, concrete rewards to increase their motivational level, standard nutrition and occupational facilities. Separate schools have been instituted in the tribal areas. So that the problems of these children can be well taken care of. Standard text-books are also used in their schools. Still then it is harassing to note that most of the tribal children are illiterates. The number of unschooled children is more than that of the schooled children.

The problem of educating them is a multi-dimensional one. It needs the active attempts and co-operation of the administrators, politicians, social workers, vocational councillers, Government personnels and the psychologists. Only the provision of good housing, education and occupation would not arise their standard. They should be properly motivated towards high level of education. Therefore, a major responsibility lies with the psychologists. Investigations have been made on extensive scale on the schooled tribal children (Rath, 1972). The unschooled children have not been adequately studied. Their psychological abilities are worth investigating. The present investigation, therefore, concentrated upon the unschooled tribal children of Koraput district in the State of Orissa.

The main purpose of the present research was to make a comparative assessment of the cognitive abilities of Bonda and Dongria Kondha children in the district of Koraput. Attempts were made to study the intelligence level, linguistic ability, conceptual ability, basic learning ability and aspirational level of these tribal children.

METHOD OF STUDY

Problem

The present research project aimed at assessing the cognitive abilities of unschooled children of Bonda & Dongria Kondha tribes. More specifically the problem of the present investigation can be stated as follows:—

(*a*) To find out the difference in the intelligence level of Bonda and Dongria Kondha childrcn as measured by Raven's progressive matrices test.

(*b*) To measure the linguistic ability of both the groups of chilldren as induced in stroop's coloured-word interference test.

(*c*) To assess the basic learning ability of both the groups of children as reflected in the scores of the Digit span test.

(*d*) To examine their abiltty to conceptualise and to copy the figures as measured through pictorial concept formation test and Figure-copying test respectively.

(*e*) To measure the level of non-verbal aspiration and achievement in finger-dexterity test.

Samples

A total number of 40 subjects (20 from each) of the Bonda and the Dongria Kondha tribes in the district of Koraput were chosen for the present study. All were unschooled children and fell in the age range 11-12 years. The children from two different tribes come from almost two different cultural Zones with their respective cultural rites, personal idyosyncracies and cultural backgrounds.

Schematic Representation of Plan and Design

Name of Tribes (1)	Age Range (2)	N (3)	Test Administration (4)
Bonda	11-12	20	(1) Raven's progressive matrices test
Dongaria Kondha	11-12	20	(2) Stroop's test (3) Figure-Copying test (4) Digit span test (5) Finger dexterity test (6) Pictorial concept Formation test

Test Description, Administration and Scoring.

(A) *Intelligence test*—Raven's (1947) coloured progressive matrices with sets A, Ab and B were administered to the subjects with a view to assess their intelligence level. This test has been claimed as a culture free test and is a measure of " General factor " of intelligence. The subjects were administered with the tests following the instructions recorded in the manual.

There are 36 matrices in the booklet and correct choice of the pattern in one matric received one score for the subject. As there are 36 matrices the maximum score of the subject would come to 36.

(B) Stroop's coloured-word intelligence test was used to measure the linguistic proficiency of these subjects. The test consists of three charts as word chart (Chart-I), colour chart (Chart-II) and the colour-word chart (Chart-III) The first chart has the names of 4 primary colours (Red, green, yellow and blue) written in random order. Each name appears 10 times. The words appear in black ink on a white background. The second chart has 40 colour stripes, 10 each for one of the four colours randomly arranged. The subjcet is asked to name the colours. In the third chart the names of the four colours appear in random order, as in the first chart, but the words are written in conflicting colour ink. For example Word 'Red' is written in green, blue or yellow ink and so on. The subjects were asked to red the colour names in the first chart and only name the colours of the second chart. In the third chart they were asked to name the colours in which the colour names were written instead of reading the colour names. The third chart gives the colour word interference scores, whereas the first and second give the word reading and colour naming speed. The interference ratio was calculating by dividing the time taken in chart III by the time taken in chart II (CW/C). More the interference, the greater is the linguistic proficiency. The interference ratio for each of the subject was calculated like this.

(C) *Figure Copying Test*—The figure copying test was given to measure how accurately the children can copy down the different kinds of figures. This test is a measure of one's level of cognitive competence. The subjects were given 10 figures for copying down those on a separate sheet. After they copied the figures depending upon the accuracy of the shape and size of the copied figures with the original one's they assigned scores from 0 to 2 for each figure.

(D) *Digit-Span Test—(Forward)* Digit Span Test, Jesser claims measures the basic learning ability (BLA) of the children. The subject is presented with a series of digits starting from three and ending with seven. The Experimenter reads the digits to the subject and the subject is asked to repeat the digits serially. Like this, increasing number of digits are spoken to him till he fails at one place to report the digits serially. The number of digits the subject is able to reproduce serially constitutes his scores.

(E) *Finger Dexterity test*—Finger dexterity test measures the non-verbal aspiration and achievement of the subject. The subject is given 5 trials with this test. In each trial, the subject is asked to report how much time he will take in filling all the wholes of the finger dexterity plate. The time aspired and the time actually taken to fill up the wholes are recorded as measures of non-verbal aspiration and achievement scores. The difference between the aspiration and achievement scores was taken to be goal discripancy scores on theoritical basis the more the goal discripancy scores, the more is the frustration.

(F) *Pictorial—Concept Formation Test*—The pictorial-concepts formation tesr consists of 30 cards. In each card 4 concept were embedded colour, pattern, content and number. The concepts were embedded in such a way on the 30 cards that the subjects can divide all the 30 cards in to five groups basing upon any of the four concepts mentioned above. In the total set of 30 cards six examples of each concept appeared.

Firstly all the 30 cards are laid down on a table randomly. The Experimenter ensure that the subject recognizes all the pictures in the cards. Then the Experimenter asks him to group all the cards in to five categories and to specify the principle of categorisation. The subject completed the grouping of the cards and specifies the principles of catagorisation. The Experimenter records the basis of grouping made by the subject, while the subject groups the cards into five categories, the process is guided mainly by two principles as discrimination and generalisation. It is these principles which form the basis of this core of this concept formation.

After the raw scores were obtained, statistical treatment of the data were made and the results were presented in the chapter to follow

Results

A 't' test was employed on the progressive matrices scores of Bonda and Dongaria Kondha children to find out in both the groups of children differed significantly from each other with regard to their intelligence. The obtained result is presented in the following table:—

Table 1

Progressive Matrices scores of Bonda and Dongaria Kandha children.

(N=20 in each group)

Name of Tribes (1)	Mean score (2)	Standard Error of difference (3)	Degrees of freedom (4)	't' (5)	Level of significance (6)
BONDA . .	14·75	1·17	38	2·78	0·01
DONGARIA . . KONDHA	11·50				

With a view to measure the figure copying ability of both the groups of tribal children a 't' test was employed on the figure copying scores of Bonda and Dongaria Kondha children. The obtained 't' is presented in the result table No. 2.

Table No. 2

Figure copying scores of Bonda and Dongaria Kandha children

(N=20 in each group)

Names of Tribes (1)	Mean score (2)	S. E. D. (3)	df. (4)	't' (5)	Level of significance (6)
BONDA . .	10·95	1·51	38	2·28	0·05
DONGARIA . . KONDHA	7·50				

The linguistic proficiency was measured by stroop's coloured word interference test. The result was treated statistically by means of 't' test to find out both the groups differed significantly from each other with regard to their linguistic ability. The 't' value completed on the interference scores of both the groups is presented in the following table.

Table 3

Intereference Ratio in stroop's test of Bonda and Dongaria Kandha children

(N=20 in each group)

Name of the Tribes (1)	Mean Interference score (2)	S. E. D. (3)	df. (4)	't' (5)	Level of significance (6)
BONDA ..	1·17	0·37	38	0·16	Not significant
DONGARIA .. KONDHA	1·11				

Scores of both the groups were obtained on the Digit span Test which is a measure of one's basic learning ability. The obtained raw scores were subjected to statistical analysis and the computed 't' value is shown in the table as follows:—

Table 4

Forward Digit Span Scores of Bonda and a Dongaria Kondha children

(N=20 in each group)

Name of the Tribes (1)	Mean score (2)	Sed (3)	Df. (4)	't' (5)	Level or significance (6)
Bonda ..	4·40	0·40	38	4·00	0·01
Dongaria Kondha ..	2·80				

Non-Verbal aspiration and achievement were measured by Finger Dexterity Test. The aspiration achievement and goal discripancy scores were treated by 't' test. Result table No. 5 presents the obtained 't' value.

Table 5

Aspiration, achievement and goal discripancy scores of Bonda and Dongaria Kondha children

Nature of scores (1)	Name of Tribes (2)	Mean scores (3)	Sed (4)	Df. (5)	't' (6)	Level of significance (7)
Aspirarion	Bonda	376·10	28·10	38	5·92	0·01
	Dongaria Kondha.	542·70				
Achievement	Bonda	342·04	53·20	38	5·78	0·01
	Dongaria Kondha.	384·15				
Goal Discripancy.	Bonda	43·85	19·78	38	5·79	0·01
	Dongaria Kondha.	158·55				

Nature of groupings done by Bonda and Dongaria Kondha children in pictorial cencept formation test was assessed. The result is presented in the following table:

Table 6

Frequency of responses of Bonda and Dongaria Kondha children in each category in pictorial concept formation test

(N=20 in each group)

Name of tribes	Nature of grouping						Total No. of grouping
	Colour	Number	Pattern	Content	Functional	Arbitory	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Bonda	13	1	1	0	1	4	20
Dongaria Kondha	10	0	0	2	6	2	20

Discussion

(A) *Intelligence*—Table (1) presents the mean intelligence scores of the two groups of children in Raven's progressive Matrices. The mean intelligence score for Bonda and Dongaria Kondha children are 14·75 and 11·50 respectively. The 't' value of 2·78 has been found statistically significant at 0·01 level. Bonda children are found to be more intelligent than the Dongaria Kondha children. But both the groups are significantly below the norms of the urban and rural children studied by Rath (1972). The mean intelligence score of Bonda children is 3·25 units more than that of Dongaria Kondha children. The higher intelligence score of Bonda children might be attributed to better house and social conditions than Dongaria Kondha children. Progressive matrices consist of abstract designs. These children are not familiar to the kind of abstract designs shown to them in the booklet.

This might be the reason as to why those children score far below the norms of the urban and rural children.

(B) *Figure-copying ability*—Table (2) presents the figure-copying test scores of both the groups of children. The mean scores of Bonda and Dongaria kondha children are 10·95 and 7·50 respectively. There are 3·45 units of difference between the mean scores of both the groups. The dirference has also been found to be statistically significantly as $(t=2{\cdot}28,\ p<0{\cdot}05)$. This suggests that Bonda children are better than Dongaria kondha children in their figure-copying ability. This ability represents the cognitive competence of the children. The result obtained here is also supported by the result presented in the table-2 Intelligence is also a measure of cognitive competence and in both these abilities Bonda children are better.

(C) *Linguistic Proficiency*—The mean interference scores in stroop's colour-word interference test are presented in result table—3. The means for Bonda and Dongaria kondha children are 1·17 and 1·14 respectively showing a mean difference of 0·06 units. This difference in the obtained mean of both the groups is not found to be statistically significant as $(t=0{\cdot}16,\ p>05)$. This suggests that both the groups do not differ with regard to their linguistic proficiency as measured by stroop's test. Higher the interference score, better is the linguistic ability. The result is found to be quite consistence. Even though Bonda and Dongaria kondha houses might differ with regard to the level of sensory stimulation, all other aspects conducive for the development of language do not differ significantly. Poor-mother child communication system low level of achievement motivation emphasis on non-verbal activity, lack of corrective feedbacks for mis-applying the levels exists in the homes of both the tribal groups. All these above mentioned factors depressed the rate and course of language development. Language efficiency is an acquired characteristic. Therefore the language acquisition is greatly required for both these groups of children, All the more their linguistic proficiency is lower as compared to that of the rural and urban children used in Rath's (1972) study.

(D) *Basic learning ability*—The basic learning ability according to Jonson is measured by Digit Span Test. Jonson hypothesised that children form different socio-economic status and culture do not differ with regard to this ability. The mean scores of Bonda and Dongaria kondha children are 4·40 and 2·80 respectively (Table No. 4). The difference in the mean scores is 1·60 units and this difference has been found to be statistically significant $(t=4{\cdot}80,\ p<0{\cdot}01)$. This suggests that both the groups differ in their learning ability. This does not support the findings of Jonson (1966).

(E) *Non-verbal aspiration and Achievement*—The scores of both the groups of children are shown in result table No. 5, The meatt aspiration scores of both the groups are 376·10 and 542·70 respectively. The mean achievement score of Bonda children is 342·04 and that of Dongaria kondha children is 384·15. The mean goal discripancy scores of Bonda and Dongaria kondha children are 43·85 and 158·55 respectively. Both the groups differ significantly with regard to their aspirational level $(t\text{-}592,\ p<0{\cdot}01)$ and achievement level $(t\text{-}5{\cdot}78,\ p<0{\cdot}01)$. The aspirational and achievement level of Dongaria kondha children is more than that of Bonda children.

Finger dexterity test measures one's non-verbal aspiration since it involves the motor manipulation of the subject. It is quite usual that Dongaria kondha children would be better performing on this test. This result is also supported by the depressed linguistic proficiency of Dongaria kondha children. One of the major explation may be sought through emphasis on motor activity in that culture. The goal discripancy scores of both the groups is found to differ significantly as ($t=5{\cdot}79$, $P<01$). Higher goal discripancy score suggests inconsistency in the aspiration and achievement level of the child. More the goal discripancy, lesser is the ability of the child to match the aspirational level with the achievement level. Therefore it represents the cognitive capacity of the child. As the goal discripancy score indicates Dongaria kondha children are in possession lower cognitive competency as compared to their Bonda counterparts. Hence the result is quite consistent with the results found in tables 1 and 2.

(F) *Concept Formation*—Table No. 6 presents the scores obtained by both the groups of children on pictorial concept in term of frequencies while 13 Bonda subjects based their groupings on colour concept, 10 Dongaria kondha subjects based their grouping upon colour, only are the subject from Bonda group based his grouping upon number and pattern concept. 2 Dongaria kondha subjects grouped on content characteristics. Functional attributes are utilised by six Dongaria khondha subjects and one Bonda child as the basis of groupings. Number of Arbitory grouping was 4 for Bonda group and 2 for the Dongaria kondha group. Both pattern and number grouping represent higher ability of the subject to respond to the abstract charcteristics of the stimulus situation. Results suggest that both the groups are not capable of responding to the abstract characteristics. The result so also supported by the results presented in table 1. All the more the result indicates that both the groups of children respond more to the concrete characteristics. This implied that both are poorer in their conceptual ability as compared to their advantaged counterparts.

SUMMING UP AND CONCLUSIONS

Basing upon the findings of the present study the following conclusions may broadly be drawn :—

(1) Bonda children are found to be more intelligent than the Dongaria kondha children. But both the groups of children are below the norms of the urban and rural children.

(2) Bonda children exhibit higher level of cognitive competence as compared to those from Dongaria kondha tribes.

(3) The level of linguistic proficiency of both the groups of children is almost the same.

(4) Bonda children are far superior to Dongaria kondha children with respect to their basis learning ability (BLA).

(5) Non-verbal aspiration and achievement of Dongaria kondha children are better than that of their Bonda counter-parts. But Dongaria kondha children exhibit higher. goal, discripancy which is suggestive of lower level of cognitive competence,

(6) Both the groups of children respond more to the concrete characteristic of the pictorial stimuli while categorising them. They fail to attend to the abstract attributes of the stimuli. This is indicative of lower level of conceptual ability of both the tribal groups.

SUGGETIONS

Active attempts have been made in all the spheres to bring these children on par with the advantaged children of the society. Psychologists can help in a large measures to deal with their problems affectively. Even though Government has implemented strong measures in this connection, they still remain in the isolated islands of stagnation. This necessitated the assessment of the psychological process and capacities of these children. The following suggetions are made which would go a long way in improving the rate and course of their cognitive development. The problem is multi-dimentional one and every effort however minor, should be made.

(1) Compensatory Educational Programme

Pre-school educational programme are to be designed with a view to train these children before they begin their education in the primary schools. This would start at 3 years of age and shall compensate the loss they suffer due to lack of appropriate stimulation in their respective homes. The concepts and symbols that are required from these children in the primary schools should be taught to them during this period.

Separate schools should be opened to impart pre-school educational programme to these children. The children should be provided with the basis necessities of life such as fooding, clothing and housing. The following suggestions may be kept in view, while framing the compensatory educational programmes.

(*a*) The children should not be treated merely as passive agents standing to gain out of cultural exposure to them. They should be imparted not only in structuring class room situations but also in the unstructured community situations.

(*b*) The teaching should mainly capitalize upon the exploratory drive of the children. They should not be forced to learn against their will.

(*c*) The teaching contents should be consistent with the development norms.

(*d*) Language training should be given central position in intervention programme frame work. They should be taught to apply appropriate lables to the objects. Corrective feed backs are to be used for misapplying the lable.

(*e*) They should be taught the concept of shapes, size time, etc. and should be encouraged to respond to the abstract characterisrics of the stimulus situation.

(*f*) They should be trained to discriminate between the relevant and irrelevant attributes of the stimulus situation, so that their future problem solving ability would be increased.

(*g*) Teaching aids should be used to demonstrate them the abstract problems in concrete, situations.

(*h*) For increasing their motivational level provision for concrete reinforcement is to be made. Rewards are to be made immediately after the successful performance of the task.

(*i*) They should be taught to be reflective and not to make unconsidered responses in problem solving situations.

(*j*) Review and exercise of taught materials are to be made from time to time to make their learning consolidated.

(2) Parent training

Alongwith providing children with better educational facilities, their fathers and mothers should be trained with better child rearing practices. They should be taught for effective and productive dealing with their children. Punishment often imposed upon the children by the parents should be strongly discouraged. These children should be frequently visited by the teachers for establishing better parent-child and parent-teacher relationship.

(3) Training for better personality Adjustment.

School as a social institution is a new environment for these children. When they come to the school, they face problems of adjustment to this new situation. They develop lowered self-esteam, feeling of insecurity, etc. These problems are to be properly taken care of by the well-trained teachers.

(4) Special Compensatory Programme

After the children get admitted in schools, they fail to keep pace with others in the class. They need greater help especially in language and arithmetic subjects. The students who fall short of the norms of the class should be given extra training in the subjects in which they show deficits. Differentiated education depending on individual differences of these children is also well prescribed.

Implementation of these suggestions through trained and devoted teachers alongwith the active co-operation of the politicians, administrators, social workers, counsellors and Government personnels would go a long way in helping them for a healthy and meaningful way of living in the society.

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MERU FESTIVAL OR DANDA JATRA AMONG THE SCHEDULED POPULATION OF PHULBANI

MOHAN BEHERA

Danda is a major festival observed by people of Gadjats the Ex-States of Orissa, which were formerly ruled by the local Rajas under the British crown and after the independence, and abolition of Jamindari system, these Ex-States came under the administration of Government of Orissa by creating more administrative units of districts and subdivisions. The so called Gadjats or the Ex-States are very famous for festivals and functions among which Danda festival is a major festival which is mainly observed in the districts of Phulbani, Ganjam, Puri and in some portion of Cuttack. In Phulbani it is an attractive function continuing for 21 days till it ends with Meru celebration in the Mahaviswa Sankranti day of every year.

Danda Nacha is understood to have derived from the "Tandava", the dance of Lord Shiva. Shiva is the main God worshipped through "Danda" i. e., a bundle of cane and as such it is called "Danda Nacha". It continues for different period of time in different places, in some places it continues for 21 days, in some places for 13 days, in some places for 9 days, but finally it ends in Chaitra Sankranti, i. e., Mahaviswa Sankranti which usually falls in the month of April or May every year. Howaver the people of Phulban observe it for 21 days irrespective of tribes castes and creed.

Danda and Binakara

Danda festival is presented by Binakara, the narrator and actor of the whole affairs. He can be compared with the "Gayak of "palla", "Das Kathia" or more acurately with the Gayak of "Ghoda Nacha" of the coastal districts of Orissa. The dresses used by Binakara are headgear and multicoloured dresses. He also uses a stick typically decorated with brass bells and coloured clothes to represent 'Bina' the musical instrument of "Saraswati" the Goddes of music and learning. He is a professional singer who narrates the whole story of Danda Nacha from his own memory for hours together with an attractive way of expression. He keeps the audience spell bound wherever it is performed. Binakara is accompanied by other actors called "Chadheya" and Chadhauni". The former puts on the make up of a male and the later a female. The couple add more colours to keep the audience amuse. The drums and the double wooden pipes are the musical instruments played for the purpose. These instruments are played by Doms who are also professional players and they alongwith other members move with the party.

It is understood that the party members who perform Danda, are not allowed to take any food from outside even from their own family kitchen. They are strictly forbidden to non-vegetarian food. The non-vegetarian food so strictly avoided that even slaughter of animals and catching of fish or selling of eggs is prohibited in the areas where the Jatra is held. Apart from food, there are also strict restrictions for wearing dresses other than "Gaurika bastra", a type of saffron coloured cloth. They also do not use their usual beds, on the contrary they use straw beds, i. e., "Tirana Sajya". There is belief that who suffers more torture becomes nearer to God.

Maguni and Manasika

The unit consists of the members of dancing, Puja, Music and helpers. They move from place to place for collection of funds to meet the expenditure of the group and Puja through "Maguni". The residents voluntarily invite the unit where ample scope of collection is obtained through the way of Maguni. People though poverty stricken are so overwhelmed that they donate a considerable amount to Maguni unit. There is also a belief among the people known as a Manasika for which they invite the performance of Danda by which they can get rid of the evil activities of nature. Besides this most of the participants of Danda are cent through 'Manasika', i. e., a promise to God made by their parents and relatives for their good health and good living

Puja and Nacha

Puja is the main aim and object of this festival. Early in the morning the party goes out from the centre place carrying the equipments such as; Chhatra, Alata, Ghanta and other music items with the deity, i.e., a bundle of cane decorated with peacock feathers.' In the afternoon they perform "Dhuli Danda" which is usually sung on the road. After the Dhuli Danda is over they set out for holy bath of the deity at a river bank or a pond. Food is cooked with new pots and offered to God as well as taken by the Bhaktas, the Participants. It is done before the sun set. Then the deity is taken up with procession to the place fixed and "Danda Nacha" is performed till late at night where the people get scope to enjoy the Jatra. Night performance of Danda Nacha is as follows:—

After the usual offering of Puja and Bhog the colourful 'Bandana' starts with songs of 'Panchadevata,', i e., Lord Ganesh, Lord Narayan, Lord Rudra, Goddess Ambika and the Lord Bhaskar or Sun God who also make their appearance on the stage with their respective masks. After this performance Goddess Kali makes Her appearance with Her usual mask. She is the important Goddess who is also worshipped. Then comes the interesting acting of Binakara who goes on narrating the story of Danda with the Chadheyas and Chadheianis who typically make the audience amuse with their 'Doas'. The drums and pipes provide the music. Throughout the night Binakara gives phasewise narrative picture of the Danda Jatra. It continues every day till the festive of Meru.

Importance of Danda

The importance of Danda is so greatly marked that the people almost forget their food and drink for the performance of the Jatra. It is found in one place of Khajuripada Block headquarters of Phulbani district that a reputed Mohammedan gentleman Mr. J. Khan who invites the Danda patry every year and performs Puja and dance in front of his house with much pleasure and sacredness. He also invites other guests to come to his house to witness Danda in which the writer was one of the invited guests. It shows that the Danda is a symbol of unity among all types of people irrespective of social, economic and religious status.

The end of Dandanacha and Jatra

Finally the different units of Danda Nacha merge together forming a Jatra on the Mahaviswa Sankranti night at the prescribed places meant for different villages. There are permanent Pujagharas meant for the purpose. A performance of great pomp and ceremony with huge gathering marks the end of the Puja. A typical wooden frame almost 'M' in shape and called Meru is placed at the Mandap. It is decorated with green leaves and green mango bunches hanging over it. The sacred fire 'Homa' is performed under the Meru on which the 'Patta Bhakta' is tied on foot hanging over sacred fire. At the end of 'Homa' he picks the mangoes and throws over the witnesses. It is a belief that if a woman catches a mango from the air and suddenly eats she will be blessed with a son. New mangoes are only ceremonially taken by the people after this 'Meru' festival. The final Puja ends and throughout the night people rejoice with friends and relatives. A number of temporary stalls open to attract the people at the Jatra. Thus the Meru festival is performed once in every year by the people of Phulbani which is a memorable one.

ଆଦିବାସୀ ସମାଜରେ ମଦ୍ୟପାନର ଭୂମିକା

ହେମନ୍ତ ଦାସ

ଓଡ଼ିଶା ଏକ ଆଦିବାସୀ ବହୁଳ ରାଜ୍ୟ । ଏହାର ସମଗ୍ର ଲୋକସଂଖ୍ୟାର ପ୍ରାୟ ଏକ ଚତୁର୍ଥାଂଶ ହେଉଛନ୍ତି ଆଦିବାସୀ । ତେଣୁ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଲୋକ ସଂସ୍କୃତି, ଧର୍ମଧାରା ଏବଂ ଜୀବନର ପ୍ରତି ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ସଂସ୍କୃତିର ଚିହ୍ନ ସୁସ୍ପଷ୍ଟ । ଶାନ୍ତ ସ୍ନିଗ୍ଧ ଆଦିବାସୀର କୋମଳ ମନ କାଳକ୍ରମେ ସବୁଜ ପ୍ରକୃତିର ନିଝୁମ ସବୁଜିମାରେ ହଜିଯାଏ । ପାହାଡ଼ର ଢାଲୁରେ, ଜୋଣା ମାଣ୍ଡିଆ କ୍ଷେତର ହଜିଲ ଛାଇରେ, ଅଳସୀର ଯଶୋବନ୍ତ ସୌନ୍ଦର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ, ପ୍ରକୃତିର ସନ୍ତାନ ତାର ସ୍ୱପ୍ନ ଗଢ଼େ । କୋରେଇ ଫୁଲର ମହକରେ, ନୃତ୍ୟ ମାଧୁରୀରେ ସାବ୍ନା ରଙ୍ଗର ଧାଙ୍ଗିଡ଼ି ସ୍ୱପ୍ନ ଦେଖୁ ଦେଖୁ ଜୀବନର ମୁକାବିଲା କରିଥାଏ । ଜୀବନର ସାମ୍ନା କରି ସେ ସୌନ୍ଦର୍ଯ୍ୟକୁ ଦେଖେ, କ୍ଷୁଧାର୍ତ୍ତ ଆଦିବାସୀର ଓଠରେ, ମହୁଲି ନିଶାର କ୍ଷୟକାରୀ ଆତ୍ମାରେ ଏବଂ ନିଷ୍ଠୁର ବାସ୍ତବତାର ଜୀବନ୍ତ ଯନ୍ତ୍ରଣାରେ । ଏ ବାସ୍ତବତା ଆଦିବାସୀ ଜୀବନର ନିଛକ ବାସ୍ତବତା, ନିଛକ ସମସ୍ୟା । ତା ହେଉଛି 'ମଦ୍ୟପାନ' । ମଦ୍ୟପାନ ସହିତ ଆଦିବାସୀର ଜୀବନଯାତ୍ରା ଓତଃପ୍ରୋତ ଭାବରେ ଜଡ଼ିତ । ଏହାର ନିରାକରଣ ପାଇଁ ଜାତୀୟ ସରକାରଙ୍କ ପକ୍ଷରୁ ତୁରନ୍ତ ପଦକ୍ଷେପମାନ ନିଆଯାଉଛି । ଏହାର ସମାଧାନ ହେଲେ ଆଦିବାସୀର ଉନ୍ନୟନ ସଫଳତା ଲଭ କରିବ ।

ସମଗ୍ର ଭାରତବର୍ଷରେ ଅନଗ୍ରସର ଓଡ଼ିଶା ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ପ୍ରଦେଶ ତୁଳନାରେ ଶିକ୍ଷା, ଏବଂ ଆର୍ଥିକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଅନେକ ପଛରେ ପଡ଼ି ରହିଛି । ଏହାର ପ୍ରଧାନ କାରଣ ହେଲା ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଲୋକସଂଖ୍ୟାରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଓ ହରିଜନ ସଂପ୍ରଦାୟ ମୁଖ୍ୟ ଅଙ୍ଗ ହୋଇପଡ଼ିଛନ୍ତି । ଏହି ଉଭୟ ସଂପ୍ରଦାୟ ଶିକ୍ଷା, ସଭ୍ୟତା, ଆର୍ଥିକ ଉନ୍ନତି ଆଦି ଦିଗରେ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ଉଚ୍ଚ ସଂପ୍ରଦାୟ ଅପେକ୍ଷା ଯଥେଷ୍ଟ ଅନୁନ୍ନତ ଅବସ୍ଥାରେ ପଡ଼ି ରହିଛନ୍ତି । ସେମାନଙ୍କର ସାମାଜିକ, ଅର୍ଥନୈତିକ ଓ ଶିକ୍ଷାଗତ ବିକାଶକୁ ଅସମ୍ମାନ ପ୍ରଦର୍ଶନର ଅର୍ଥ ଦେଶର ଅଗ୍ରଗତିରେ ବାଧା ସୃଷ୍ଟି କରିବ । ତେଣୁ ସରକାର ବିଶେଷ ଯୋଜନା ମାଧ୍ୟମରେ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଉନ୍ନତି ସାଧନର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କରୁଛନ୍ତି । ବିଶେଷ ଭାବରେ ଲକ୍ଷ୍ୟ କରାଯାଇଛି ଯେ ଆଦିବାସୀଙ୍କ ମଦ୍ୟପାନ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଆର୍ଥିକ ଅବସ୍ଥାକୁ ନିମ୍ନସ୍ତରକୁ ନେଇଯାଉଛି । ତେଣୁ କେବଳ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଜୀବନ କାହିଁକି, ଏହା ସମଗ୍ର ଜାତି ଜୀବନରେ ଏକ ବିରାଟ ସମସ୍ୟା ରୂପରେ ଦେଖାଦେଇଛି ।

ମଦ୍ୟପାନ ଏବଂ ତାର ବିବିଧ କାରଣ

ଆଧୁନିକ ମଣିଷ ଜୀବନକୁ ଅତିମାତ୍ରାରେ ଉପଭୋଗ କରିବା ପାଇଁ କିମ୍ବା ଅତ୍ୟଧିକ ଦୁଃଖରେ ଦୁଃଖ ଲଘବ ପାଇଁ ମଦ୍ୟପାନ କରିଥାଏ । କିନ୍ତୁ ଆଦିବାସୀର ମଦ୍ୟପାନ ସାର୍ବଜନୀନ ମଦ୍ୟପାନ । ସେ ପରିବେଶର ମୁକାବିଲା ପାଇଁ, ସାଂସ୍କୃତିକ ଜୀବନରେ ସଂହିତିର ରୂପ ଦେଖିବା ପାଇଁ ଏବଂ ଅନାଟନର ଚିନ୍ତାକୁ ଲଘୁ କରିବା ପାଇଁ ମଦ୍ୟପାନ କରିଥାଏ । ନିମ୍ନଲିଖିତ କାରଣଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଆଦିବାସୀର ମଦ୍ୟପାନ ସହ ଗଭୀର ଭାବେ ସଂଶ୍ଳିଷ୍ଟ ।

ସାଂସ୍କୃତିକ ଜୀବନରେ—

(କ) ଦେବତା ପୂଜା—ଆଦିବାସୀ ବାର ମାସରେ ବାଇଶ ପୂଜା କରିଥାଏ । ଯେକୌଣସି ପୂଜାରେ ମଦର ସ୍ଥାନ ଅତି ଉଚ୍ଚରେ ରଖା ଯାଇଥାଏ । ମଦର ପୂଜା ବିନା ଦେବତା ପୂଜା ଅସମ୍ଭବ ହୋଇପଡ଼େ ।

(ଖ) ପର୍ବ ପର୍ବାଣି—ପୁଷ ପର୍ବ, ଚୈତ୍ର ପର୍ବ, ଦିଆଲି ପର୍ବରେ ମଦର ପ୍ରଚଳନ ଅତ୍ୟଧିକ ହୋଇଥାଏ । କଠୋର ରୁକ୍ଷ ଜୀବନକୁ କ୍ଷଣ କାଳ ପାଇଁ ଭୁଲିଯାଇ ନୃତ୍ୟ ଓ ମଦ ଗିତରେ ଜୀବନକୁ କ୍ଷଣକାଳ ପାଇଁ ରାଗ ରଞ୍ଜିତ କରି ଆଦିବାସୀ ନିଷ୍ଠୁର ବାସ୍ତବତାକୁ ଭୁଲି ଯାଇଥାଏ ।

(ଗ) ବନ୍ଧୁ ମିଳନ—ସାଧାରଣତଃ ଶାଶୂ, ଶ୍ୱଶୁର, ଶଳା ଓ ଶାଳୀଙ୍କ ସହ ମିଳନ ସମୟରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ମଦପାନ କରାଇ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ଖୁସି କରାଇ ଥାଏ ।

(ଘ) ମୃତ୍ୟୁରେ—ଯେ କୌଣସି ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିର ମୃତ୍ୟୁରେ ମୃତ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିର ସ୍ମୃତିକୁ ଭୁଲିବା ପାଇଁ ଆଦିବାସୀ ମଦ୍ୟପାନ କରେ ।

(ଙ) ଶ୍ରାଦ୍ଧ ବା ଶୁଦ୍ଧକ୍ରିୟାରେ—ବାର୍ଷିକ ଶ୍ରାଦ୍ଧୋତ୍ସବ ବା ଶୁଦ୍ଧକ୍ରିୟାରେ ମଦର ପ୍ରଚଳନ ଅଧିକ ହୋଇଥାଏ ।

(ଚ) ଜନ୍ମ—ନୂତନ ସନ୍ତାନ ଜନ୍ମରେ ଆନନ୍ଦ ହିଁ ମଦ୍ୟପାନର ଅନ୍ୟ ନାମ ।

(ଛ) ବିବାହ—ବିବାହଆଦି ଉତ୍ସବରେ ଆନନ୍ଦର ଅନ୍ୟଦିଗ ନୃତ୍ୟ ଓ ମଦ୍ୟପାନ ।

(ଜ) ନୂତନ ସଂପର୍କ ସ୍ଥାପନ—ପୁଅ ପାଇଁ ବିବାହ ସ୍ଥିର ହେଲେ ସେହି ସଂପର୍କକୁ ମଦ୍ୟପାନ କରିଆରେ ବାନ୍ଧି ଦିଆଯାଏ । ବର ପକ୍ଷରୁ ଏହି ଲନ୍ଦାର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ହୋଇଥାଏ ।

(ଝ) ନୂତନ ରଣ ଗ୍ରହଣ ସମୟରେ—ସାହୁକାରର ଦ୍ୱାରସ୍ଥ ହୋଇ ଆଦିବାସୀ ରଣ ନେବା ସମୟରେ ସେହି ସାହୁକାରର ଭାଟିରୁ ନୂତନ ରଣ କରିଥିବା ଟଙ୍କାରେ ମଦ କିଣି ସାହୁକାର ଓ ଅନ୍ୟମାନଙ୍କୁ ଆପ୍ୟାୟିତ କରିଥାଏ ।

(ଟ) କଠୋର ପରିଶ୍ରମ—ପ୍ରକୃତିର ସନ୍ତାନ ସେ । ପ୍ରକୃତି ସହ ସଂଗ୍ରାମ କରି ଆଦିବାସୀ ଜୀବନ ଧାରଣ କରିଥାଏ । ଖାଦାନରେ, କୃଷି କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ପରିଶ୍ରମ କରି କ୍ଳାନ୍ତ ହୋଇପଡ଼େ । ସେହି ପରିଶ୍ରମ ଜନିତ କ୍ଳାନ୍ତିକୁ ଲାଘବ କରିବା ପାଇଁ ସେ ମଦର ଆଶ୍ରୟ ନେଇଥାଏ ।

(ଠ) ଖାଦ୍ୟାଭାବ—ଆଦିବାସୀ ସେ । ପ୍ରକୃତିର ଅପରୂପ ସୌନ୍ଦର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ ସେ ଲୁହିମନ୍ତ । ତା ପୃଥିବୀରେ ଅନ୍ଧାର ଯେତେ ସବୁଜିମାର ରାଜତ୍ୱ ମଧ୍ୟ ସେତେ । ଏହି ସବୁଜ ସୁନ୍ଦର ଅନ୍ଧାରୀ ଜୀବନରେ ଅନାଟନ, ଏକ ଚିରନ୍ତନ ଅଧ୍ୟାୟ । ଅନୁଭବୀ ସେ । ଡ଼ଙ୍ଗର କାଟି ଫସଲ ଫଳାଏ । ଜଙ୍ଘା, କାନ୍ଦୁଲ, ମାଣ୍ଡିଆ, ଅଳସୀ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଲହୁ ଲୁହାଣ ହୁଏ । କିନ୍ତୁ ସେ ଖାଏ କନ୍ଦା, ପିତାଆଳୁ ଓ ଶାଗ ଏବଂ ମୁତଂ ମାଣ୍ଡିଆ ଚୂନାର ତତଲ ଜାଉ । ପେଟ ପୁରେନା । ତେଣୁ ମଦ ପିଇ ପିଇ ଭୋକ ଭୁଲେ ।

ରୋଗର ଉପଶମ

ସଭ୍ୟ ମଣିଷ ଭଳି ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅସୁସ୍ଥ ହେଲେ ଚିକିତ୍ସାଳୟର ଆଶ୍ରୟ ନିଏ ନାହିଁ । ସେ ଗୁଣି ଗାରିଡ଼ି ଓ ଚେରମୂଳି ଉପରେ ଅଗାଧ ବିଶ୍ୱାସ କରେ । ଜ୍ୱର ହେଲେ ସେ ଦିସାରି ଓ ଗୁରୁମାଇ ବସାଇ ପ୍ରେତ ପାଇଁ ପୂଜା କରେ । ଡୁମା ବା ପ୍ରେତ ଅସନ୍ତୁଷ୍ଟ ହେଲେ ରୋଗ ହୁଏ ବୋଲି ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଅଟଳ ବିଶ୍ୱାସ । ବସନ୍ତ ବା ମହାମାରୀରେ ଦେବତାଙ୍କ କ୍ରୋଧ ବା ପୂର୍ବ ପୁରୁଷଙ୍କ କ୍ରୋଧ ଉପଶମ ପାଇଁ ସେ ମଦ ପୂଜା କରି ପାନ କରିଥାଏ ।

ଆଦିବାସୀ ଜୀବନରେ ମଦ ଓ ଏହାର ପ୍ରକାର

ଆଦିବାସୀ ସମାଜରେ ବହୁ ପୂର୍ବରୁ ମଦ୍ୟର ବ୍ୟବହାର ଥିଲା । ସମ୍ଭବତଃ ସେମାନେ ତାଳ, ଖଜୁରୀ ଓ ସଲପ ଗଛର ରସକୁ ମାଦକ ଦ୍ରବ୍ୟ ଭାବରେ ବ୍ୟବହାର କରୁଥିଲେ । କାଳକ୍ରମେ ଏଥିରେ ଚେର ମୂଳ ମିଶାଇ ଏହାକୁ ବିଷାକ୍ତ କରି ବ୍ୟବହାର କଲେ । କ୍ରମେ କୃଷି ସଭ୍ୟତାର ସଂକ୍ଷିପ୍ତ ପ୍ରଭାବ ଏହି ଶାନ୍ତ ସରଳ ଜୀବନ ଉପରେ ରେଖାପାତ କଲା । ଡୁମ, ପାଣ, ଏବଂ ଶୁଣ୍ଡି ଭଳି କେତେକ ସୁବିଧାବାଦୀ ଜାତି ଏହି ଶାନ୍ତ ସୁନ୍ଦର ନୀରିହ ଆଦିବାସୀମାନଙ୍କ ଉପରେ ସେମାନଙ୍କର କୌଶଳୀ ପ୍ରଭାବ ବିସ୍ତାର କଲେ । ନିଜେ ମଦରନ୍ଧା ପ୍ରଣାଳୀ ଜାଣିଥିବା ହେତୁ ମଦ ବ୍ୟବସାୟ ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଆରମ୍ଭ କଲେ । ଆଦିବାସୀ ମଦ ପିଇ ପିଇ କାଳକ୍ରମେ ସର୍ବସ୍ୱାନ୍ତ ହେଲେ ଏବଂ ପାହାଡ଼ର ଢାଲୁ ଅଂଶରେ ଜଙ୍ଗଲ କାଟି ପୋଡୁ ଚାଷ କଲେ । ପାହାଡ଼ ତଳର ସମତଳ ଜମି ଶୁଣ୍ଡି, ଡୁମ ଓ ପାଣଙ୍କର ନିଜସ୍ୱ ସଂପତ୍ତି ହୋଇ ସାରିଥିଲା । 'ପୋଡୁଚାଷ' ସେଇ ଅଭାବୀ ଚେତନାରୁ ସୃଷ୍ଟ । ଏହି ଅନାଟନ ଭିତରୁ ମଧ୍ୟ ମଦରନ୍ଧା ପ୍ରଣାଳୀ ସେ ଶିକ୍ଷା କରିଥିବା ମନେହୁଏ ।

ମଦର ପ୍ରକାର

ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଆଦିବାସୀ ସମାଜରେ ସାଧାରଣତଃ ଚାରି ପ୍ରକାର ମଦ ରନ୍ଧାଯାଏ । (୧) **ହାଣ୍ଡିଆ**, (୨) **ମହୁଲି**, (୩) ସଲପି (୪) ଲନ୍ଦା । ଏହାର ରନ୍ଧନ ପ୍ରଣାଳୀ ନିମ୍ନରେ ପ୍ରଦତ୍ତ ହେଲା ।

ହାଣ୍ଡିଆ—ଆଦିବାସୀ ହାଣ୍ଡିଆ ନାମକ ଏକ ପ୍ରକାର ମଦ ବ୍ୟବହାର କରିଥାଏ । ପ୍ରଥମେ ଉଷୁନା ଚାଉଳକୁ ଭାତ କରି ଦିଆଯାଏ । ଏହି ଭାତ ଗଳାଯାଏ ନାହିଁ । ତାପରେ ଏହି ଭାତକୁ ବଡ଼ ବଡ଼ ପଟିରେ ଶୁଖାଇ ଦିଆଯାଏ । ଭାତଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଥଣ୍ଡା ଶୁଖିଗଲେ ତାକୁ ପୁଣି ହାଣ୍ଡିରେ ପୁରାଇ ରଖାଯାଏ । ତାପରେ ଅରୁଆ ଚାଉଳ ଚୁନା ଓ ଧୂପ ମଧୁର ବା ଲଗଃବାହା ଗଛର ଚେର ମିଶି ପୂର୍ବରୁ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ ହୋଇଥିବା ଗୁଳାଗୁଡ଼ିକୁ ଉକ୍ତ ହାଣ୍ଡିରେ ଭାତ ସହିତ ମିଶାଇ ଦିଆଯାଏ ଓ ଏହା ଉପରେ ପଲମ ଘୋଡ଼ାଇ ଦିଆଯାଏ । ତିନିଦିନ ପରେ ଏହି ଭାତ ଉପରେ 'ଡାଂହାଣ୍ଡି' ବା ମଦ ଜମି ଯାଇଥାଏ । ଏହି ଭାତରୁ ଅଧିକ ମଦ ତିଆରି କରିବାକୁ ହେଲେ ପାଣି ମଧ୍ୟ ମିଶାଇ ଦିଆଯାଏ । କିନ୍ତୁ ଏହି "ଡାଂହାଣ୍ଡି" ବା ହାଣ୍ଡିଆ ଉତ୍କୃଷ୍ଟ ବିବେଚିତ ହୁଏ । ଏହି ମଦରେ ନିଶା ଅତି ଶୀଘ୍ର ଧରିଥାଏ । ସାନ୍ତାଳମାନେ ପର୍ବ ପର୍ବାଣିରେ ଓ ସାଧାରଣ ଦିନରେ ମଧ୍ୟ ହାଣ୍ଡିଆ ପିଇ ନାଚିବାର ଦେଖା ଯାଇଥାଏ । ଜହ୍ନ ଆଲୁଅରେ ହାଣ୍ଡିଆ ପିଇ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଯୁବକ ଯୁବତୀ ଡୁଙ୍ଗ ଡୁଙ୍ଗା ବଜେଇ ଜୀବନର ସ୍ୱାଦ ଉପଭୋଗ କରିଥାଆନ୍ତି ।

ମହୁଲି—ମହୁଲ ଫୁଲରୁ ମଦ ସଂଗ୍ରହ ହୁଏ ବୋଲି ତାର ନାମ ମହୁଲି । ଜଙ୍ଗଲରୁ ମହୁଲ ଫୁଲ ସଂଗ୍ରହ କରାଯାଇ ତାକୁ ଶୁଖାଇ ରଖାଯାଇଥାଏ । ସେହି ଶୁଖିଲା ମହୁଲକୁ ପାଣିରେ ସାତ, ଆଠ ଦିନପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ବତୁରାଇ ଦିଆଯାଏ । ସେଥିରୁ ଦୁର୍ଗନ୍ଧ ବାହାରି ବ୍ୟାକଟ୍ରିଆ ସୃଷ୍ଟି ହେଲେ ସେହି ବତୁରା ଯାଇଥିବା ମହୁଲକୁ ଚୁଲିରେ ବସାଯାଇ ବକଯନ୍ତ୍ର ସାହାଯ୍ୟରେ ମଦ ସଂଗୃହୀତ ହୁଏ ।

ଘଉଳି—ଉଷୁନା ଚାଉଳକୁ ପ୍ରଥମେ ଦରଫୁଟା କରି ରାନ୍ଧି ଦିଆଯାଏ । ଉକ୍ତ ଦରଫୁଟା ଭାତକୁ ଶିଳରେ ବାଟି ପିଠୋଉ ଭଳି କରି ଦିଆଯାଏ । ସେହି ପିଠୋଉକୁ କୁରୁଡ଼ୁ ପତ୍ର ଠୋଲରେ ରଖି ବାଉଁଶ ଖଡ଼ିକା ସାହାଯ୍ୟରେ ମୁଡ଼ି ଦିଆଯାଏ । ଏହି ଠୋଲଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଚୁଲି ଝିଙ୍କାରେ ଧାଡ଼ି ଧାଡ଼ି କରି ରଖି ଦିଆଯାଏ । ଖରାଦିନେ ସାତ ଦିନ, ବର୍ଷା ଓ ଶୀତ ଦିନରେ ୧୫ ଦିନ ଯାଏ ଶୁଖାଇବାର ଦେଖା ଯାଇଥାଏ । ଶୁଖିବା ସମୟରେ ଏହା ପୁରାପୁରି ଶୁଖି ପାରେନାହିଁ । ଫଳରେ ଏଥିରେ ବ୍ୟାକ୍ଟ୍ରିଆ କିମ୍ବା ଛତୁଳିଆ ପୋକ ଭଳି ଏକ ପ୍ରକାର ଜୀବାଣୁ ଉତ୍ପନ୍ନ ହୋଇଥାଏ । ତାପରେ ଘଉଳକୁ ରାନ୍ଧି ଭାତ କରାଯାଏ ଓ ଏହି ଭାତକୁ ଟକଟି ଟକଟି ମଣ୍ଡ କରି ଦିଆଯାଏ । ତାପରେ ପୂର୍ବର ଅଧା ଶୁଖିଲା ପିଠାକୁ ସେଥିରେ ପକାଯାଏ ଓ ଏହାକୁ ଆଠ ଦଶ ଦିନ ଯାଏ ଛାଡ଼ି ଦିଆଯାଏ । ଏ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସେହି ହଣ୍ଡାର ଜାଉ ପାଣି ଫାଟି ଛେନା ପାଣି ଭଳି ତଳକୁ ବସିଯାଏ । ଠିକ୍ ପାଗ ହୋଇଗଲେ ଏହାକୁ ବ୍ୟବହାର କରାଯାଏ । ସର୍ବ ପ୍ରଥମେ ଉପରେ ଥିବା ପାଣି ନିର୍ମଳ ପାଣି ଭଳି ଦେଖାଯାଏ । ତାହାର ଦାମ ଓ ନିଶା ସବୁଠାରୁ ବେଶୀ । ଗୋଟିଏ ହଣ୍ଡାରୁ ଗୋଟିଏ ବୋତଲ ମଦ ବାହାରିଥାଏ । ତାପରେ ମଝି ଅଂଶର ମଣ୍ଡକୁ କନା ଦ୍ୱାରା ଛଣାଯାଏ । ସବୁଠାରୁ ନିମ୍ନ ଅଂଶ ସବୁଠାରୁ ଅଧିକ ମୋଟା ଓ ଅଧିକ ଦାମ ହୋଇଥାଏ । ଆଦିବାସୀଙ୍କ ବିଶ୍ୱାସ ଯେ ଏହି ଶେଷ ଅଂଶର ମଦ ପିଇଲେ ନିଶା ତିନି ମାସ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ରହେ । ଏହି ମଦ ବିବାହ, ଭୋଜି, ପର୍ବ-ପର୍ବାଣିରେ ବ୍ୟବହୃତ ହୁଏ । ଯେ ମଦ ତିଆରି କରେ ସେ ନିଷ୍ଠାର ସହ ମଦ ରାନ୍ଧିଥାଏ । ସେମାନେ ମଦ ହାଣ୍ଡିକୁ ଅତି ଗୋପନ ଭାବରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଦେବତାଙ୍କ ପାଖରେ ରଖି ଥାଆନ୍ତି । ଆଦିବାସୀମାନେ ଏହି ପ୍ରଣାଳୀର ଯତ୍କିଞ୍ଚିତ ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନ କରି ଭିନ୍ନ ଭିନ୍ନ ପ୍ରଣାଳୀ ପ୍ରୟୋଗ କରିଥାଆନ୍ତି ।

ରନ୍ଧା—ମାଣ୍ଡିଆରୁ ରନ୍ଧା ତିଆରି ହୁଏ । ମାଣ୍ଡିଆକୁ ସଫା କରି ତାକୁ ପାଣିରେ ବତୁରାଇ ଦିଆଯାଏ । ସାତ, ଆଠ ଦିନ ପରେ ୬,୭ ଇଞ୍ଚ ଲମ୍ବର ଗଜା ହୋଇଥାଏ । ଏହି ଗଜା ମାଣ୍ଡିଆକୁ ସାମାନ୍ୟ ଶୁଖାଇ ଦିଆଯାଏ । ସେହି ଶୁଖିଲା ମାଣ୍ଡିଆକୁ ଢେଙ୍କି ବା କୁଟୁଣୀରେ କୁଟି ଗୁଣ୍ଡ କରାଯାଏ । ଗୁଣ୍ଡକୁ କୁଲାରେ ପାଛୁଡ଼ି ବାରମ୍ବାର ଗୁଣ୍ଡ କରାଯାଏ । ଏହି ଗୁଣ୍ଡ ମାଣ୍ଡିଆକୁ (ଏକ କିଲୋ ବା ଦୁଇ କିଲୋ) ଭିନ୍ନ ସ୍ଥାନରେ ରଖାଯାଏ । ବଳକା ସମସ୍ତ ଗୁଣ୍ଡକୁ ଜାଉ ରନ୍ଧାଯାଏ । ବଡ଼ ବଡ଼ ମାଟି ହାଣ୍ଡିରେ ଏହାକୁ ନେଇ ରଖାଯାଏ । ଏପରି ୩,୪ ଦିନ ରଖିବା ପରେ ସେ ଜାଉ ଥଣ୍ଡା ହୋଇଯାଏ ଓ ପୂର୍ବରୁ ରଖା ଯାଇଥିବା ଗଜା ମାଣ୍ଡିଆର ଗୁଣ୍ଡକୁ ଆଣି ଏହି ଜାଉ ସାଙ୍ଗରେ ମିଶାଇ ଦିଆଯାଏ । ୩,୪ ଦିନ ପରେ ଏହା ପାଣି ଫାଟି ତଳକୁ ବସିଯାଏ ସେ ସମୟରେ ହାଣ୍ଡିରୁ ଭୟଙ୍କର ଗର୍ଜନ ଶୁଣାଯାଏ । ତାପରେ ପାଗ ଠିକ୍ ଅଛି କି ନାହିଁ ମଦ ରନ୍ଧାରେ ପାରଗ ହୋଇଥିବା ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି ଜାଣିପାରେ । ଯଦି ଏହା ପିତା ଲାଗେ ତେବେ ଏଥିରେ ଖୁବ୍ ନିଶା ହୁଏ । ଏହା ଖାଦ୍ୟ ଓ ପାନୀୟ ଉଭୟ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରେ । ଜଣେ ଜଣେ ୫,୬ ଲିଟର ପିଇବାର ଦେଖା ଯାଇଥାଏ । ଏଥିରେ ଧୀରେ ଧୀରେ ନିଶା ଧରେ ଓ ଭୋକ ହୁଏ ନାହିଁ ।

ସେହିପରି କାନ୍ଦୁଲ, ବାଜରା ଆଦିରୁ ମଦ ତିଆରି ହୁଏ । ଏହି ରନ୍ଧା ମଦ ଛଡ଼ା ଆଦିବାସୀ ସଲପ, ଖଜୁରୀ ଓ ତାଳ ଗଛର ରସ ପିଏ । ଏହି ରସ ତା ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ ପରିବେଶ ଓ ସ୍ୱାସ୍ଥ୍ୟପାଇଁ ସାହାଯ୍ୟ କରିଥାଏ । ଏହି ରସ ପିଇବା ଦ୍ୱାରା ପେଟ ଥଣ୍ଡା ରହେ । ଅକ୍ଳାନ୍ତ ପରିଶ୍ରମ କରିବା ପରେ ମଦ୍ୟପାନ ବିଶେଷ କରି ସଲପ, ଖଜୁରୀ ଓ ତାଳ ରସ ପାଇଁ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅପେକ୍ଷା କରିଥାଏ । ନୃତ୍ୟ, ବାଦ୍ୟ ଓ ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ ପରିବେଶ ପାଇଁ ଏହି ରସ ଅନୁକୂଳ ହୋଇଥାଏ । ସେମାନେ ମଦ୍ୟପାନ କରି ଜୀବନକୁ ଚିର ସୁନ୍ଦର, ଚିର ଶାଶ୍ୱତ କରିବା ପାଇଁ ଆଗେଇଛନ୍ତି । ସ୍ଥିତିବାଦରେ ଆଦିବାସୀର ନିଘା ନାହିଁ । ଆଗରେ ଏବେ

ସୁନ୍ଦର ଜୀବନ, ସେଇ ଜୀବନ କେବଳ ଉପଭୋଗର ନାଭିକେନ୍ଦ୍ର । ଏହି ଭାବାବେଗରେ ସେ ଉଛନ୍ନ ।

ଏହି ମଦ୍ୟପାନ ପାଇଁ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ହତ୍ୟା ଏକ ସାଧାରଣ କଥା ହୋଇପଡ଼ିଛି । ସଲପ ରସ ପାଇଁ ବଣ୍ଡା ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ନିତି ପ୍ରତି ବାପ ପୁଅକୁ ଏବଂ ପୁଅ ବାପକୁ ମାରିବାର ଦେଖାଯାଏ ।

ଏହି ବିଭୀଷିକାର ଚିତ୍ର କେବଳ ମଦ୍ୟପାନ ଯୋଗୁଁ ହିଁ ଘଟିଥାଏ । ବିଶେଷ କରି ସେ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଅଣ-ଆଦିବାସୀମାନେ ଭାଟି ଗଢ଼ି ମହାଜନୀ କାରବାର କରନ୍ତି । ଶୋଷଣ, ଅତ୍ୟାଚାର, ଗୋଡି ପ୍ରଥା ଏହି ମଦ ପ୍ରଭାବରୁ ଅନେକାଂଶରେ ଘଟିଥାଏ । ଖାଦାନରେ ଖଟି ଖଟି ଆଦିବାସୀ ଯାହା ବା ପଇସା ପାଏ ସେ ଫେରିବା ବାଟରେ କଣ୍ଟ୍ରାକ୍ଟରଙ୍କର ମଦ ଭାଟିରେ ଦିଏ । ସେଇ ଭାଟିରେ ସେ ମଦ ପିଇ ପେଟରେ ଓଦା କନା ଦେଇ ଫେରେ । ଏହି ପରିସ୍ଥିତିର ମୁକାବିଲ ପାଇଁ ଅବକାରୀ ବିଭାଗ ପକ୍ଷରୁ ଯଥେଷ୍ଟ ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ଦିଆଯିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ଆମ ସରକାର ଆଦିବାସୀ ଉନ୍ନୟନରେ ଆପ୍ରାଣ ଚେଷ୍ଟିତ । ସେଥିପାଇଁ ମାସର ପ୍ରଥମ ଦୁଇ ତିନି ଦିନ, ଯେଉଁ ସମୟରେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ତାହାର ମାଲିକ ଠାରୁ ଟଙ୍କା ପାଏ, ସେହି ସମୟରେ ସରକାରଙ୍କ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶ ଅନୁଯାୟୀ ଭାଟି ବନ୍ଦ କରି ଦିଆଯାଏ । ମଦ ଲାଇସେନ୍ସ ବିଶେଷ ଭାବରେ ନ ଦିଆଯିବା ପାଇଁ ସରକାରଙ୍କ ପକ୍ଷରୁ ବାରମ୍ବାର ଚେତାବନୀ ଦିଆଯାଉଛି । କିନ୍ତୁ ଏହି ମଦ୍ୟପାନକୁ ବନ୍ଦ କରିବାକୁ ହେଲେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ପାଇଁ ଯଥେଷ୍ଟ ଖାଦ୍ୟ ଦିଆଯିବା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ । ନ ହେଲେ ମଦ୍ୟପାନକୁ ବନ୍ଦ କରିବାର ଅର୍ଥ କିଛି ହେବନାହିଁ । ଆଦିବାସୀର ଅକାଳ ମୃତ୍ୟୁ ହେବ । ସରକାରଙ୍କ ପକ୍ଷରୁ ଆଦିବାସୀ ପାଇଁ ଯଥେଷ୍ଟ ଜମି, ଗୃଷ ଉପକରଣ, ଶିକ୍ଷା ଓ ସହାନୁଭୂତି ମନୋଭାବ ସଫଳ ହେଲେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ପାଇଁ ମଦ କେବଳ ‘ଝାକର ପେନୁ” ର ପୂଜା ହୋଇ ରହିବ । କିନ୍ତୁ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଆଉ ମଦ ଭିତରେ ଜୀବନ ଜ୍ୱାଳା, କ୍ଷୁଧାର ଜ୍ୱାଳା ଭୁଲିବାକୁ ଚେଷ୍ଟା କରିବ ନାହିଁ ।

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